

Adolescent Migration

in Udaipur District

an investigation into
the causes & consequences



Caroline Custer
Jan Macauslan
Preeti Goyal
Satendra Pareek
Sunita Kumari



Seva Mandir
June, 2005

12659

CLIC-
CHCT
C
A
R
T
S
B
A

This study explores adolescent migration in Udaipur District by focusing on nine study villages in three blocks in Seva Mandir's working area. Nearly a third of all adolescents from these villages migrate for work for some part of the year. We first outline the origins of the study as first conceived by Seva Mandir, and then situate the phenomenon in the existing literature and provide a brief demography and overview. We divide the determinants of migration into three broad categories economic, social and psychological, and education-related which communities and ourselves considered important, but emphasise the complexity of and inter-relations between these determinants. It is found that distress migration represents a significant but not exclusive proportion of adolescent migration. These determinants are briefly placed in a macro structure that includes labour contractors. We then explore the experience of adolescent migrants and consider the implications of their migration for themselves and their households in terms primarily of economic and education-related impacts. Adolescent migrants often enjoy their migration and their households in most derive substantial benefit, but are exposed to health (including sexual health) and risks, are deprived of education, and are sometimes very unwilling to migrate. We therefore propose broad strategies and interventions to mitigate these problems and capitalise on the benefits.

Due to a printing error, the name of the Customer colour has no effect on the report. All distributed

SOCHARA

Community Health

Library and Information Centre (CLIC)

Community Health Cell

85/2, 1st Main, Maruthi Nagar,

Madiwala, Bengaluru - 560 068

Tel : 080 - 25531518

email : clic@sochara.org / chc@sochara.org

www.sochara.org

Contents

Acknowledgments	2
1. Introduction	4
2. Auspices and Assumptions	6
3. Literature Review	8
4. Methodology	10
5. Demographic Profile of Adolescent Migrants and Overview	14
6. Determinants of Adolescent Migration	19
i. Economic determinants	19
ii. Social and psychological determinants of migration	33
iii. Education-related determinants of migration	39
7. Structures of Adolescent Migration	51
8. The Worksite Experience	54
9. Impacts of Adolescent Migration	76
i. Economic impacts of adolescent migration	76
ii. Education-related impacts of migration	79
10. Recommendations	83
11. Conclusion	92
References	93



Acknowledgments

This study was certainly not an effort that occurred in isolation. Its success - as does the success of any work - depended on many individuals. In this page we thus wish to extend our gratitude to all those who helped us at various stages of this study.

We would firstly like to express our deep gratitude to Neelima Ji for showing faith in us and for entrusting such an important study to us. We would also express our gratitude to Mr. H.R. Bhati for his kind cooperation. Further thanks to Swati Ji for providing continuous support and guidance. She took a personal interest and special pains in providing us with much desired information, advice and encouragement. We also express our gratitude to Dr. Dalbir Singh for support in administering the work.

We are deeply indebted to all Seva Mandir staff at the blocks, especially the zonal staff, without whom it would have been impossible to organize PRAs and interviews. We will carry with us fond memories of the hospitality, warmth, and constant advice and encouragement at all the blocks, but particular thanks must go to all the staff at Kotra, Kherwara and Jhadol, not least Kripa Shankarji (co-ordinator Kotra), and Madhavji (co-ordinator Jhadol). We spent many enjoyable nights at their offices and wished we could have stayed longer.

Our special thanks to Jhala Saheb (Secretary Kotra) for coming with us to the worksites in rural Gujarat, where his expertise and suggestions were invaluable.

We would also like to thank our dedicated team of surveyors, Rakesh Pareek and Prem Kunwar. Both performed admirably in difficult circumstances, making many sacrifices to get the job done. Rakesh was also an invaluable help in conducting interviews, PRAs, and in selecting the sample. The surveyors were ably supervised by Gopal Singh Rathore, who in addition to coordinating the surveys, came to most of the villages to organise and undertake much of the qualitative work. His attention to detail and thoroughness are encapsulated in the wonderful social maps he was also instrumental in preparing.

Thanks also to Yakubji for being patient with us as we wrested Satendra away from other duties a few too many times so he could help with the research, and to Badwal Saheb for his dedication in accommodating our constant and finicky requests for vehicle bookings.

Many thanks to Rajan Gupta for encouraging us on the track of adolescent migrants, and to Rajiv Khandelwal at Aajevika for his continual helpfulness, and to all the staff at GVT Ratlam and Disha Ahmedabad for their hospitality and kindness.

WH-150
12659



Ian and Caroline would like to thank the volunteers for being a constant source of advice, reassurance, and coffee, and would like to reserve a special mention for Deepti Ameta, the volunteer coordinator. She provided not only support and vital administration, but more importantly friendship, interest, and encouragement. Without her the study would not have been possible.

Finally, a heartfelt thanks to all of the study participants, villagers who obligingly accommodated our detailed, and sometimes strange questions and requests, who willingly spent long hours chatting with us even while encompassed with other pressing work and obligations, and from whom we have learned so much.

1. Introduction

In the pre-independence period 1900-1947, Udaipur witnessed increasing awareness among educationists and liberal thinkers of the particular development challenges and political stagnation plaguing Rajasthan. This realization sparked a movement towards change and inspired certain individuals, who had embraced ideals of voluntarism, to seize the initiative. The late Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta was one such individual, who channelled his ideals and efforts into founding Seva Mandir as a voluntary organisation focusing on adult education. Decades later, Seva Mandir has today evolved into a large and diverse organisation, focusing on sustainably improving livelihoods, enhancing people's capabilities, and creating and strengthening village institutions, carrying out its work in 583 villages. The rural population Seva Mandir works with consists primarily of tribals and other disadvantaged communities whose resources are severely limited. The rural population of this hilly and drought-prone region depends upon subsistence agriculture, animal husbandry, and, increasingly, wage labour for their livelihoods.

A large number of youth, both males and females, regularly migrate out of their villages for work independently of their families, living away from their homes and villages for a significant part of the year. Hence it has become extremely difficult for an organisation like Seva Mandir to engage with them for any substantial period of time. These youth and adolescents, typically 8 to 18 years of age, were essentially falling through the cracks of Seva Mandir's interventions, and just as likely missing out on benefits from many other state or community institutions and processes not designed to accommodate their mobility. This was the point where it became apparent that a study of adolescent migration was needed. Seva Mandir first identified the problem upon finding that a large number of children had dropped out of NFEs. One of the main reasons for migrating identified at this stage was to earn a livelihood.

A study on migration was initially conceived as aiming to identify migration trends that constitute barriers to the effectiveness of Seva Mandir's interventions. Seva Mandir hoped especially to undertake further investigation into adolescent migration, as it was posing new challenges to effective education and health interventions. Adolescents are generally seasonal migrants, who face many risks at worksites to which they migrate along with groups of other adolescents, encountering a new environment without

assistance from their traditional social support networks, and undertaking often exploitative work. Perhaps an adolescent could develop the capacity to deal effectively and wisely with the new challenges posed by the worksite environment, but for the most part village life and education have not equipped adolescents to do so by the time they migrate. Initial reports of physical dangers in the migrant worksite environments, unsafe sex among adolescents, and the sexual abuse of girls, prompted Seva Mandir's concern and a proposal that a study of adolescent migration focus on health and education aspects.

The objective of the study was subsequently defined as addressing two central research questions: 1) Why do adolescents migrate?, and 2) What impacts does it have on them, their families and their communities? We hoped to investigate these two questions in a way that would enable Seva Mandir to design an intervention addressing the challenges faced by adolescent migrants, and to exert policy influence to this end. To adequately address the full range of factors related to both of our research questions, we expanded the study to look not only at health and education aspects of adolescent migration, but also how it relates to village livelihoods, natural resources, and a whole range of economic variables.



2. Auspices and Assumptions

As social scientists have gradually become aware of the fiction of neutrality and objectivity in social research with its irreducible human factor, it has become important to acknowledge one's own position as a researcher in relation to the research subject. However methodically we have honed our research instruments, our own judgements, values and personalities effect how we interact with participants, how we represent and interpret the information they give us, the correlations we choose to make in the quantitative data and the story we tease out of the numbers. Rather than saying that we are value-less, prejudice-less researchers, we will instead try to describe our position so that the reader may take into account the lens through which we have viewed our research. We approached this research not so much as a theoretical exercise to prove or disprove a hypothesis, but as an investigation that will yield a better understanding of adolescent migration in order to inform development intervention and policy. Thus, at every stage, we tried to avoid theoretical meanderings in favour of looking into what implications this input would have for action, believing that action towards development is both possible and desirable. In describing our research to communities and in posing questions, we tried to treat migration as a neutral, so as neither to give communities the impression that we had come to stop migration, nor to promote it. Rather, we tried to give them the impression that the study would attempt to understand how they valued migration, and to help them act on the implications of their own valuation. However, given that we came to villages under the auspices of Seva Mandir, and maybe for a host of other reasons, we had the impression that villagers saw us as wanting to stop migration.

Although we may have striven for a kind of neutrality with regards to valuing migration, we approached the research with specific values attached to other issues. To be honest, we did not look solely at how communities themselves valued the variety of challenges and problems associated with migration, as the research process inevitably entails our own prioritisations of certain concerns and questions over others. Our own assumptions were undoubtedly an ingredient, along with the input of villagers during our preliminary research, in formulating our questionnaires and developing our themes of inquiry in focus groups and interviews. We held assumptions that education is important, that child labour should be avoided, that labourers should receive minimum wage, and that sexual harassment, unsafe sex, and poor nutrition are areas of concern, even if villagers did not always raise these concerns to us before we broached the topic.

Another identity factor as researchers is our foreignness to the village community. Whether from Britain or America, from urban India, or simply from a different region of the state, we are seen as outsiders and view the villagers' life through our own cultural lenses. We have varying degrees of comprehension of the local dialects spoken in the villages, and we will never have the depth of understanding of life in these villages that would even come close to the nuanced understanding of one who grew up there, but we hope that the interpretive lenses that our diverse research team has brought to the study has helped us bring to light our own assumptions and undertake more balanced and thoughtful interpretation.

3. Literature Review

An important aim of this study is to understand the scale and scope of adolescent migration from parts of Udaipur district. Many reviews and categorisations of migration suffer from what Deshingkar has called “notoriously inaccurate” data on migration (Deshingkar 2004b). In India, micro-studies that show increases in temporary migration (Singh and Karan 2001, Rao 2001, Rafique and Rogaly 2003) contrast with official statistics showing a decline in population mobility (Kundu 2003). Whilst Katiyar, Khandelwal and Kumar (2003) estimate that up to 64% of individuals in Udaipur district migrate, there are no data for adolescents. Part of the problem in measuring rates of child labour, identified by Antonyraj (2004), is that the phenomenon is typically underestimated because children classified as non-attending school non-workers’ spend most of their time in productive capacity. These problems mean that there are no meaningful and reliable data on adolescent migration. We have tried to overcome these issues by prioritising participatory research and using villagers’ perceptions of migration.

Although this study is intended as an investigation rather than as a test of various hypotheses, a notable feature of our focus on adolescents is the challenge this presents to more recent analyses of migration. Whilst older studies (Reddy 1990, Rao 1994) have focused on survival migration, new research (Deshingkar and Start 2003, Rogaly and Coppard 2003, Rao 2001) has suggested that migration can be accumulative and a routine livelihood strategy, and that remittances can contribute to agricultural intensification (Lakshmanasany 1990), setting up non-farm enterprises, and, therefore, significantly to poverty reduction (Deshingkar and Grimm 2003). This literature, however, fails to distinguish adolescents who face particular problems, vulnerabilities and attractions when migrating and who are sometimes compelled to migrate as a routine survival strategy by their families, and who sometimes migrate for more complex social reasons.

The complexity of the motives and effects of adolescent migration necessitates a holistic investigation. Classical approaches to migration tend to emphasise single aspects of migration, whether these are economic rationality (Todaro 1976, Stark 1991), social norms, individual psychology, or institutional constraints (Breman 1996, Olsen 1996), and analyse them for a given unit of production. These sorts of models are often accurately accused of being insufficient because they fail to account for the variation in the dynamic socio-economic-physical framework in which migration occurs and in which remittances are used (McDowell and de Haan 1997, Deshingkar and Start 2003, Deshingkar 2004a).

Much more appropriate in the context of diverse migration streams is the social exclusion and livelihoods approach adopted by recent studies (Deshingkar and Start 2003, Rafique and Rogaly 2003). These build on the multiplicity of factors behind migration explored in the New Economics of Labour Migration (Taylor 1991) by recognising the interactions between agency and structure, and by examining specific contexts, social networks, gender relations and household structures (de Haan et al 2002). It is important to examine this range of factors to attempt to deal with the problematic and diverse motives for and effects of adolescent migration.

Although some studies have investigated migrants' problems, vulnerabilities, and alienation at the worksite (Rafique and Rogaly 2003, Mosse 2002), and the indifference and inadequacy of the legal framework (Bremner 2003, Sudrak 2005), there has been no specific investigation of the impact of these difficulties on adolescents. Given, however, that adolescents require particular nourishment, education, social protection, and personal care (WHO SEAR 1997), migration is likely to have a highly disruptive effect on their personal development. Although this is true for autonomous seasonal migration of the sort this study deals with, the literature there is on under-18 migration deals almost exclusively with trafficking, refugees, and orphans. It is hoped that this study will be able to use newer and more holistic approaches to migration to examine the hitherto under-studied but extremely important and widespread phenomenon of adolescent seasonal labour migration.



4. Methodology

We began our research design on the premise that our research would be research for development, not a theoretical exercise. So, with an eye towards gathering a quality of data that would enable both program design and policy influence, we developed a two pronged qualitative and quantitative approach to research, both of which are detailed below. We began the study by selecting 9 villages on which to focus, all of which block coordinators had referred us to as having high rates of adolescent migration. We settled on Amlī, Gura and Uplī Subrī in Kotra, Khedaghati, Banibor and Liladi in Kherwara, and Nayakhola, Shyampura and Ghorimari in Jhadol. The selection of villages was such that at least one Seva Mandir intensive village, and one non-intensive, featured in each block, that two non-Seva Mandir villages were represented, and that we would carry out research in Shyampura in lieu of a non-Seva Mandir village in Jhadol, where we were interested in analyzing the impact that the lift irrigation project had on migration.

Qualitative methods

We assembled a combination of qualitative methods - including social mapping and wealth ranking, observation, semi-structured interviews and focus groups - that would enable us to gather rich, descriptive data about the experiences of adolescent migrants. We hoped that thus allowing adolescents and their communities to participate in creating the categories through which their experiences are represented, we would be better able to see the experience of migration through their eyes and to involve them in designing a culturally sensitive intervention.

Instrumentation and data collection

The flow of our qualitative research was to arrive in a village after giving prior notice to the village level workers (in the case of Seva Mandir villages) and call a village meeting with as many villagers as possible. We would start generally discussing the village, perhaps its history, or migration in a general way, with the villagers. Then we would either move into a community focus group discussion or a social mapping or wealth ranking PRA, depending on who or how many were present. We identified adolescent migrants present and pulled them aside for interviews and focus group discussions, or asked community members present to find adolescent migrants who would be willing to speak to us. We continued in this snowball-sampling until we had facilitated a social mapping and wealth ranking, one community member focus group, one adolescent migrant focus group of either all boys or all girls, one interview with a parent of an adolescent migrant, and one

interview each with a female and a male adolescent migrant. We stayed in each village for at least a day, and usually a couple of days, sometimes making several visits in order to complete all of the qualitative research. In the process we observed and noted other aspects of the village's physical and social geography.

At the worksites we visited, we relied a lot on observation and conducted semi-structured interviews of adolescent migrants, *meths* [labour contractors] and *seths* [employers].

Permission to interview and to tape record was sought from all participants, after we had explained to them the purpose and nature of our research. We have kept the names of all participants separate from the transcripts, and we sought as much as possible when discussing sensitive topics with adolescents, to do so out of earshot of community members who they would not want to share this information with.

Analysis

To analyze the qualitative data, we read through the transcripts, identifying themes and categories that arose from the data, and sorting quotes from the transcripts into those continually-evolving categories. What we ended up with was an organized set of documents that voiced the main themes of concern to the research participants in their words, which contained illuminating explanations about the experience of migration, and which could be combined with our own observations to make arguments about what sort of intervention and policy would be appropriate.

Limitations

The extent to which we could gather rich, externally valid data was limited by the very short amount of actual time we spent in the villages, due to the large sample of villages we sought to cover. We were not able to build the kind of rapport necessary with community members that would enable us to find out in much detail about sensitive issues like sexual harassment at the worksite, and likely others that we are not even aware of.

Our methods did not facilitate a great degree of community member participation in the research process; we were essentially outsiders coming in with our own research agenda, identifying the community's needs with a little bit of their input, analyzing that input and then bringing back to them the fruits of our analysis, rather than giving them the tools or opportunity to investigate and analyze their own issues. In light of our time and resource constraints, the spread of the study, and our own lack of experience in facilitating truly participatory research, our methodology suffered these limitations.

Likewise, we faced several limitations engendered by the ways in which we failed to live up to our methodological aspirations. One of our supposed Seva Mandir non-intensive villages ended up being a village where Seva Mandir had in fact ceased working years

ago. At times we had difficulties facilitating a high degree of participation in many of the focus groups with adolescents, especially girls, and in eliciting detailed responses in interviews. Oftentimes - when faced with a reticent group - we found it difficult to avoid asking leading questions. We occasionally faced difficulties understanding village dialects - usually in the more remote villages - that impeded our ability to ask in-depth questions to participants, or necessitated the use of a local interpreter, eroding confidentiality. Our interviews fell a couple short of what we had planned, and we experience technical problems with recording for three interviews.

Quantitative methods

Household and adolescent questionnaires were administered in each village in order to collect largely quantitative data in a systematic manner. In order to assure a range of socio-economic backgrounds in the sample, villagers were asked to place households in wealth categories A-D, the parameters of which were defined by the villagers. From each of these 25% of households were selected for the household questionnaire. The sample was selected so that of this 25%, 60% of households were reported by villagers to contain at least one adolescent migrant, although the selection of individual households was random. This would make it possible to compare the socio-economic status of migrant and non-migrant households, as well as investigate differences in migrating households. The adolescent questionnaire was administered to one adolescent from each of this latter 60% of households (to which were also administered the household questionnaire). The sample totalled 172 adolescents and households receiving both questionnaires, and 114 households receiving only the household questionnaire. Where adolescents were absent or households could not be found, randomly sampled replacements were offered.

Instrumentation and data collection

The household questionnaire comprised a range of questions addressing the employment and education of each member, cropping patterns, loans, consumption, livestock ownership, and participation in village institutions. It was intended to provide an indication of the demography and socio-economic status of the household which could be correlated with the rates and nature of adolescent migration from it. The adolescent questionnaire comprised series of questions about education, migrant work, the conditions of work and the worksite, and the adolescent's feeling towards migration. Surveys were administered by one male and one female surveyor, dividing the adolescent respondents by gender, supervised randomly throughout the process.

In order to preserve the anonymity of respondents, data were entered with code names. The quantity of data permitted a wide range of analysis, but the focus was on exploring the differences between households with adolescent migrants and those without, and on the issues raised in the interviews and focus group discussions.

Limitations

This methodology, whilst it permits a detailed investigation of the conditions of households containing adolescent migrants, a comparison with non-adolescent migrant households, and a good picture of the nature and conditions of work done by adolescent migrants, does not allow us to extrapolate rates of migration, because the villages were not randomly selected. Moreover, because adolescents who were surveyed had to be present in the village, a non-random group of adolescent migrants were excluded. However, the household questionnaire was designed to be sufficiently detailed to provide us with a more representative survey of adolescent migrants and their destinations, without being specifically directed to adolescent migrants experiences. The household questionnaire was administered to a structured sample of households, with a significant bias towards adolescent migrants' households. Although this sample cannot therefore be taken as representative of villages or rural communities, it was felt that for this study it was more important to draw a comparison between adolescent migrant households and non-adolescent migrant households, and to investigate adolescent migrant households in greater detail. For a representative study of Udaipur District, see Ling (2005).

Although the surveyors were trained and were well versed in the purpose of the study and the sensitivities of the subject, questions on sexual behaviour, drinking, and loans and advances were often not answered comprehensively. This represents an understandable reluctance to reveal sensitive personal information to relative strangers and though unfortunate is not unexpected. The length and complexity of the surveys may have led to some fatigue and a slight reduction in data quality in some samples.

The rates of migration are generated from villagers' estimations, with the rates in our non-adolescent migrant sample acting as correctives. These rates remain, therefore, estimations and not factual descriptions of villages. This limitation is important when trying to compare rates of migration across villages; small differences may not be significant. Occasionally, the community members who were present for the wealth ranking did not know all of the other villagers or their financial status, so some of these more remote or unknown households fell through the cracks in our sampling. We also had a couple of instances where we accidentally administered questionnaires to two adolescents from the same family, and we noted a couple of households for which we only have partial data.



5. Demographic Profile of Adolescent Migrants & Overview

172 adolescents and 296 households were surveyed in 9 villages. The rate of adolescent migration both in terms of the percentage of households from which adolescents migrate and in terms of the percentage of adolescents, migration was reported to be high, but varied across villages.

Table 1 : Migration rates from different villages

Village	% Households from which adolescents migrate	Estimated % Adolescent migrants migrating*
Nayakhola	16.1	22.6
Ghorimari	21.5	24.7
Liladi	24.8	39.8
Khedaghati	28.7	35.5
Gura	17.2	21.6
Amlī	35.2	-
Upli Subri	25.2	39.9
Banibor	35.6	-
Shyampura	11.2	14.2
Total	24	28

* Based on 5.6 members per household and 20% of individuals adolescents

Shyampura has by far the lowest rates of adolescent migration, both as a percentage of households and as a percentage of adolescents. The highest rates of migration come from non-intensive villages, specifically Banibor and Amlī. Liladi and Upli Subri, non-Seva Mandir villages, have very high rates of migration in terms of a proportion of adolescents, although Khedaghati, an intensive Seva Mandir village, has fairly high rates of migration. Unfortunately there are no data on adolescents from Banibor or Amlī because the villagers were unable to estimate the number of migrants from across the village.

Household questionnaire

Almost every household surveyed belonged to a Scheduled Tribe. From the household sample, structured towards adolescent migrant households, 48% of adults migrate. The household questionnaire revealed that adolescent males and females are equally likely to migrate, but that where 75% of adult men migrate, only 18% of adult women migrate. There is thus a significant increase in male migration and a significant decrease in female migration with age.

Adolescent migrants work largely in the cotton industry, although nearly a quarter work in construction. They are away from the village for 3 months on average.

Table 2 : Adolescent migrants' occupation, migration duration, and remittance

Occupation	%age adolescent migrants (247)	Migration duration (months)	Monthly remittance
Cotton work	48.6	1.9	770.1
Factory	4.9	4.7	969.4
Construction	24.5	3.6	1050.4
Driver	0.8	10	550
Hotel	1.2	7.7	533.3
Other	11.4	3.7	1224.7
More than 1	6.5	3.9	764.4
Unspecified	2.0	2.2	675

Adolescents remit on average Rs 2633.5. However, girls migrate for shorter periods and remit less in total. Adolescent females remit slightly more on average than adult females, but adolescent males remit less than their adult counterparts.

Table 3 : Adolescent migration

Gender	Duration	Total Remittance
Female	2.3	1934.7
Male	3.5	3291.2

Table 4 : Adult migration

Gender	Duration	Total Remittance
Female	2.2	1719.2
Male	4.2	4888.8

Adolescents tended to be most frequently outside the village during the monsoon, when cotton labour demand is strongest, but over a third of adolescent migrants were outside the village over the winter (Diwali-Holi).

Table 5 : Migration Season for adolescents and adults

Season	% adolescent migrants outside village	% adult migrants outside village
Monsoon	58.7	18.1
Raki-Diwali	24.0	34.8
Diwali-Holi	37.1	52.0
Holi-Monsoon	9.0	18.1
All year	4.8	18.9

Adult migrants show the same gender patterns but they work less in cotton than in construction. This is reflected in their greater tendency to be outside the village over the winter. Adults migrate for 3.8 months on average remitting Rs 4161.6.

Table 6 : Adult migrants' occupation and duration

Occupation	% age adult migrants (382)	Migration duration (months)
Cotton work	9	2.2
Factory	6.8	5.5
Construction	42.6	3.2
Driver	2.6	9
Hotel	1.3	6.2
Other	24.2	4.8
More than 1	4.5	3.9
Unspecified	8.6	3.1

Adolescent questionnaire

Most adolescent questionnaire respondents fell within the 15-18 age group (117 out the sample of 172, or 68%), with 20 (12%) between 10 and 12 and 35 (20%) between 13 and 15. 57 females and 115 males were interviewed. The vast majority - 165 – of the interviewees were from scheduled tribes, 2 from scheduled castes, 1 was a minority, 3 were from general castes, and one was not given.

Table 7 shows the number of adolescents surveyed, by gender, and the number of households surveyed in each of the 9 villages. The absence of girls from Khedaghati is noticeable; otherwise the distribution is fairly consistent.

Table 7 : Villages and gender

Location surveyed	Adolescents	Female	Male surveyed	Households
Amli	18	8	10	30
Banibor	21	10	11	34
Ghuri Mari	9	2	7	13
Gura	30	11	19	52
Khedaghati	29	0	29	49
Liladi	13	3	10	24
Nayakhola	26	13	13	46
Shyampura	11	4	7	25
Upli Subri	15	6	9	23
Total	172	57	115	296

The educational status of the adolescent respondents is very poor. 40% reported that they were totally illiterate, having neither the ability to sign their names, read, write, nor calculate. 50% had never been to school and 94% are currently not in school. Only 26 adolescent migrants progressed beyond the average class attained: Vth.

Adolescent migrants reported working in *dhodhi bandhane*, *kapaas binene*, construction, factories, restaurants, and as drivers, in rural or urban Rajasthan, or rural or urban Gujarat. The average wages are low, at Rs 41 per day, and migrants work on average 9 hours 15 minutes each day, and spend 77 days away from home. Over 60% of adolescents migrated with a group of peers. 112 adolescent respondents worked in *dhodhi bandhane* in rural Gujarat, and in total 136 worked in rural Gujarat and 116 (67%) in *dhodhi bandhane*.



Adolescents in *dhodhi bandhane* earned Rs 36 per day and remitted Rs1498 on average, spending 55 days away from home. Females report earning an average daily wage of Rs 36, compared to the male average of Rs43, but work 45 minutes longer each day. The disparity in wages arises largely because 54 out of the 57 females work for low wages in *dhodhi bandhane*, whereas 28 males work in higher paid construction and factory jobs. Within *dhodhi bandhane*, however, females reported that they worked nearly an hour longer than males.

The average remittance of adolescent respondents was Rs 2461, and the average remittance per day of work was Rs 32, implying adolescents spent an average of only Rs 9 on themselves each day. Table 2 shows remittances for 25th, 50th 75th, and 100th percentiles. The average remittance for groups 1 through 3 was Rs 1445.

Table 8 : Remittance group and wage

Group	Average Remittance(Rs)	Average Remittance per day (Rs)	Wage
1 (0-25%)	887	22	34
2 (25-50%)	1547	26	37.0
3 (50-75%)	1930	36	39.3
4 (75-100%)	5970	44	54.3

Unsurprisingly daily wages were highest for those adolescents who remitted the most. These adolescents were largely in construction. The vast majority of adolescents in groups 1, 2 and 3 worked in *dhodhi bandhane*. 78% of adolescents (and every adolescent in *dhodhi bandhane*) reported that their remittances were spent on food grains, and the most common reason cited for migrating, given by 48% of respondents, was that their families needed money. This suggests that adolescents working in cotton did so largely

to provide for their families' subsistence, since their remittances were more likely to be spent on food grains.

84% of adolescents found their job through a contractor, who earns Rs 5 per labourer per day, and 95% went with a group. 57 adolescents (33%) complained of withheld wages or that their contract was not honoured, but only 1 managed to recover the wages. 83 adolescents reported some sort of misbehaviour whilst they migrated, largely verbal abuse but in 6 cases physical abuse. 50% of females reported that they had been verbally abused. No adolescents reported serious injury but 24% went to hospital during their migration. Nearly a third of adolescent migrants didn't enjoy their experience.

Table 9 : How was your migration?

Answer	Respondents
Like it very much	2 (1%)
Like it	39 (23%)
Ok	75 (44%)
Don't like it	46 (27%)
Very much don't like it	3 (2%)

6. Determinants of Adolescent Migration

There are many factors that determine the rate and nature of migration of adolescents from Udaipur District. These have been separated for clarity into economic, social and psychological, and education-related. However, this separation should not suggest that these factors operate independently or exclusively on adolescents. Rather, they interact with each other and with broader social networks, regional economic developments, and the local history of migration. Moreover, these factors vary in their influence upon different adolescents and their families. As the preceding literature review and the following sections should make clear, adolescent migration is a complex and diverse phenomenon that does not admit of a single explanation.

1. Economic determinants

"Those who are unhappy are the ones who go the most - those who don't have any earnings here. Either there are no wells or the wells have dried up. The person with 3 bighas of land will not migrate but those with only 1 bigha will have to go."

Amlī community members

Todaro claimed in 1970 that it was by then accepted that migration can be explained in primarily economic terms. The typical economic explanation for migration predicts that individuals or households seek income and will rationally choose the situation yielding higher expected earnings net of search and transport cost. In general, this is inadequate as an explanation of adolescent migration in Udaipur District because the non-monetary costs and benefits of migrating are often more powerful than the monetary considerations, and because the explanation pays no attention to the uses to which the income will be put. These uses matter because they directly affect the motivation of the individual to seek income. However, there is a powerful economic explanation for the migration of adolescents in Udaipur District who come from what can be characterised as distress households. This explanation builds on Stark's (1991) analysis of migration as a form of family livelihood diversification but emphasises migration from distress households as essentially reactive to their predicament (cf Richmond 1994). These households are cultivators unable to meet basic consumption needs from their produce or income earned from it. Distress and non-distress migration can both be explained to some extent in terms of incomes, but the relevant distinction between 'distress' and 'non-distress' economic explanations of migration is that distress migrants' earnings will primarily be used on basic household needs and not on personal consumption. Distress is a situation

in which an economic explanation of migration is likely to be more compelling because the survival of family members depends on exploiting an earnings differential. Distress households are unable to produce enough to meet the needs of their members - due largely to a shortage of land, drought, and large families - and they are thus dependent on the incomes they derive from adolescent migration.

The families studied are almost entirely small-scale owner-cultivators. The ability of distress households to subsist on home cultivation is fragile because of recent drought and population growth that has resulted in fragmented landholdings. These households are sometimes heavily indebted and are particularly ill-prepared to fund health or social expenses. Moreover, the combination of large families and small landholdings means that not all members of a household can be employed productively at home. Increasingly, therefore, households rely on wage labour to finance their basic consumption needs. Adolescents migrate when there is no local employment and when they do not need to work in the household farm, either because other household members are working there or because, due to poor productivity, there is no labour requirement in the household farm at all. They both provide important remittances and reduce the household burden by being self-sufficient during the period of migration.

This causal chain is borne out in many cases by our findings. Not only is the sort of distress argument outlined repeatedly stressed by adults and adolescents in interviews and focus groups, a comparison of families with migrating adolescents and non-migrating adolescents reveals significant income differentials which supports the repeated emphasis on economic distress. In table 9 below, group 3 households containing adolescent migrants are significantly worse off than their counterparts in group 2 both in terms of the households' economic output and in terms of their per capita output and spending.

Table 9 : Grouped annual economic output and spending (Rs)

Group	Households containing	Total Economic Output	Total economic output per capita	Spending per capita
1	No adolescents	10927	2458.6	1494.6
2	Non-migrating adolescents	21925	3524.9	1453.1
3	Migrating adolescents	16318	2428.3	1198.8

There is some evidence that adolescents migrate to secure higher earnings because they want primarily spend on themselves, rather than on the household, suggesting the existence of a non-distress economic explanation. Given, however, that the bulk of wages are remitted, this economic explanation does not hold great power. Migrating out of a desire to spend will be examined more closely in section on social and psychological determinants.

There are also some important points relating to economics that do not fit easily within a rigid and individualistic earnings differential framework but that should be included in an examination of migration. First, gender interacts with economic considerations to produce unequal economic tendencies to migrate between adolescent males and females. This will be discussed in the social and psychological section. Second, in addition to absolute economic status, economic inequality and perceptions of inequality within a village can have important implications for migration. For instance, the Indian Village Studies project (Connel et al. 1977, Lipton 1980) found that more unequal villages - rather than the poorest ones - had highest rates of out-migration. However, our methodology was not directed specifically towards exploring this and it was not clear from our data that such a relationship existed. There was variation in both migration rates and in incomes inequality across study villages, but no clear correlation between them. Third, it is sometimes argued that not only the actual economic benefits but also the perceived economic benefits can act as inducements to migrate. The evidence for this is limited, but the school teacher in Amli suggests that adolescent migration does not provide the essential income that many community members claim:

I also explained to their parents that your household will not be able to run on the money that their children earn in these 2 months, but it is very difficult to explain to them.¹

Underlying these qualifications is the diversity of adolescent migration streams and the linkages and complementarities between motives. An emphasis in recent literature that resonates particularly in this study of adolescents is on the variation in the effects and conditions of, and reasons for migration. A focus of this literature has been on migration as a route out of poverty and not always as a response to distress. For example, Deshingkar and Start (2003) find that:

accumulative migration streams have now become a major source of income for many erstwhile poor communities in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh and have significantly contributed to improving their lives through more investment in their farms, houses, children's education and marriages.

This positive assessment is rarely warranted amongst adolescents whose remittances are seldom invested productively, as will be examined in the economic impacts of migration. It is important, nevertheless, to emphasise that not all adolescents migrate out of distress. Acknowledgement of the variation in migration types should be accompanied by a reiteration of the rationale of the social exclusions and livelihoods approach to migration that underlines that economic reasons for migration interact with social and psychological motives to migrate and that all are deeply embedded in specific structures, cultures and institutions.

¹ Community members focus group, Amli

The conditions of distress migration

In all study villages, most households' ability to meet their basic consumption needs from their own lands is reported by adolescents and adults as fragile.

Because of the inadequacy of the kharif produce, we are not able to produce enough anaz [foodgrains] for the entire year. Hence we have to go out.²

Mostly people go because of the deficiency of food at home.³

We are very poor. There is starvation and so migrating to Gujarat is our majburi [helplessness, compulsion].⁴

Table 10 below shows that adolescent migrant households not only have to spend more to make up the deficit in their agricultural production (average agricultural deficit) but also generate less income from their production of food and cash crops (average agricultural surplus). This contributes to a much more significant net agricultural deficit than in non-distress households (average deficit minus average surplus), which creates direct pressure for cash income to meet the basic food requirements not met from cropping. This deficit, moreover, is only for the crops that households grow: it does not include other food items not grown in their fields. The total food deficit is the annual difference between the total spending on food and the income gained from agricultural production. Given also that adolescent migrants come from larger families, it is perhaps not surprising that their total food deficit is very large:

Table 10 : Agricultural surplus and food spending

Group	Average annual agricultural surplus	Average annual agricultural deficit	Net agricultural deficit	Annual food spending	Total food deficit (food spending minus agr. surplus)
1	1009.3	1360.5	351.2	1907.0	897.7
2	2024.2	1923.4	-100.8 (surplus)	2622.9	598.7
3	914.9	2289.9	1375.0	2961.2	2046.4

Although on average households from each group have a food deficit, table 10 clearly shows the much larger deficiency of production for group 3 households. This is for a number of reasons that we now turn to.

Cropping patterns

All households cultivated crops in *kharif*, but most were unable to meet their food requirements even for the crops they cultivated. Table 11 shows the average cost of

² Male adolescent migrant, Nayakhola

³ Female adolescent migrant, Shyampura

⁴ Community member, Banibor. Majburi is compulsion or helplessness, but this could alternately be translated, "There is starvation and so we are left with no choice but to migrate to Gujarat."

making up the shortfall in *kharif* production, the value of the surplus crops grown, and the net deficit.

Table 11 : Net agricultural deficit

Group	Average deficit cost	Average surplus income	Average net deficit
1	872.2	465.4	406.9
2	1300.8	826	474.8
3	1569.2	429.3	1139.9

There is a clear correlation between the number of crops cultivated and the net surplus (shown in table 12), but as table 13 shows, adolescent migrant households cultivate fewer crops in *kharif*:

Table 12 : Crops cultivated and net surplus

Households	Number of crops cultivated	Net surplus value
105	1	-1600.3
157	2	-657.2
30	3	478.4
4	4	1382.5

Table 13 : Number of crops

Group	Number of crops
1	1.75
2	1.83
3	1.76

Table 14 : *Kharif* crop production

Group	Makka production	Makka productivity	Chawal production	Chawal productivity	Urad production	Urad productivity
1	206.0 (63)	121.2	88.2 (24)	97.3	-	-
2	312.3 (60)	123.5	167.1 (23)	110.4	32.5 (2)	62.5
3	218.0 (173)	114.5	105.3 (66)	109.5	26.4 (5)	46.8
Group	Tuar production	Tuar productivity	Til production	Til productivity	Kapas production	Kapas productivity
1	51.0 (17)	73.4	-	-	103.3 (6)	86.7
2	80.8 (20)	82.5	-	-	176.0 (5)	127.0
3	62.0 (40)	78.6	10.0 (1)	20.0	75.5 (20)	91.7

The numbers in brackets show the number of households cultivating the crop. The lack of diversification is evident. On average, households in group 3 produce less than those in group 2 for each crop, and have slightly lower productivities for most crops and a significantly lower productivity for cotton (a fairly high value cash crop).

The lower production is a direct result of smaller cultivated areas, and the lower productivity can be put down to lower use of fertiliser, poorer quality land, and less time to work on the land. In *kharif*, all households used rain as their only water source, so water sources probably have little impact of productivity. All of the other factors contribute to the inadequacy of production to meet subsistence needs.

Almost every household cultivated in *rabi*, although fewer crops than in *kharif*, and there was again the same correlation between number of crops grown and net surplus:

Table 15 : *Rabi* crop number and surplus :

Number of <i>rabi</i> crops	Households	Net surplus
1	160	-296.8
2	73	185.5
3	59	666.6

Households with adolescent migrants grew slightly fewer crops on average than households without adolescent migrants, and again group 1 was more in deficit than other groups:

Table 16 : Grouped net *rabi* surplus :

Group	Total deficit cost	Total surplus value	Net surplus value
1	488.3	544.0	55.7
2	620.7	783.5	162.8
3	698.5	498.1	-200.3



Only 1 sampled household (less than 1%) cultivated in *zaid*. Although irrigation was cited as a serious problem, our data also showed that in both *kharif* and *rabi* fertiliser had significant effects on productivity. Table 17 shows the correlation between fertiliser and rain-fed *makka* cultivation in *kharif*, and households using wells for *gehu*, the major crop in *rabi*.

Table 17 : Fertiliser use for main crops

Households	Fertiliser used	Makka Productivity/ bigha
237	No	104.4
54	Yes	169.5
Households	Fertiliser used	Gehu productivity/ bigha
40	No	165.1
36	Yes	192.9

Although there is also a connection between fertiliser use and larger landholdings, therefore more irrigated land, this difference in land does not account for the whole variation in the productivity of these crops. However, the percentage of households in each group using fertiliser varied little, suggesting that although it is important for crop productivity (which should be important in considering interventions) it does not obviously impact on adolescent migration.

The fragility in crop production has recently been tested in some villages because *“the forest department has stopped people cutting wood from the forest. We get fuel from the forest.”*⁵ The insensitivity of these development plans to local exigencies exacerbates the difficulties that distress families face. However, even participatory development initiatives are unable to reach migrant families. In villages where Seva Mandir has helped to create a Gram Vikas Kosh (village development fund), only 38% of households with adolescent migrants were aware of its existence, compared to 54% of households with non-migrating adolescents and 51% of households without adolescents. No surveyed adolescent migrant household contained a member of a self help group; these households lack access to alternative means of income generation to household production. These difficulties are continually worsened, according to villagers, by water shortage and population growth.

Drought

The principal factor that makes subsisting problematic is the prolonged drought. This is the result of poor rainfall, falling water table levels due to over-extraction, and the excessive run-off of water from the hills caused by deforestation and continual erosion. The drought has had the effect of drastically reducing *kharif* production, largely restricting un-irrigated *rabi* production, and rendering *zaid* production impossible without irrigation. Very few households have irrigated land and usually they can only irrigate less than half of the land they cultivate:

⁵ Community member interview, Ghorl Mari

Table 18 : Grouped irrigation

Group	% households irrigating	% land irrigated	Irrigated Land Area
1	25.40	40.21	1.27
2	44.07	45.53	2.00
3	30.23	46.46	1.49

Households with adolescent migrants are less likely than those with adolescents who do not migrate to have irrigated land, and irrigate a smaller area (although a higher percentage of their total cultivable land).

The most obvious result is an overall crop production far below normal levels and widespread deficits. The testimonies of the villagers express this eloquently:

There is a shortage of water due to less rainfall, from which we can't grow three crops.⁶

The wells in the village have dried up. Sufficient anaz [foodstuff] does not grow.⁷

Also because of low rainfall, the kharif produce is also not adequate. The wells have dried up and because of this we are unable to do rabi also.⁸

Lift irrigation and also an anicut have been made by Seva Mandir, but with the lack of sufficient rain, we didn't get any benefit from it. We used to grow wheat. Now without water or with little water, we grow channa (chick pea) and mustard but it doesn't yield very much.⁹

The overwhelming perception from most villages is that without rain it simply is not possible to grow sufficient crops to survive the year and that water interventions do not necessarily solve the problem. This perception is strongly supported by the absence of *zaid* cultivation and the deficits in both *kharif* and *rabi* production noted above.

Population growth and landholdings

Moreover, the problem is becoming increasingly acute as population density increases and larger families have to subsist on smaller landholdings. Census data for Udaipur District make clear the rapid expansion of the population in the last 50 years. Data from study villages and from a recent study by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology that randomly sampled hamlets from Seva Mandir villages in rural Udaipur district indicate the youth of the population and the high average family sizes. These studies make clear the fact that population growth in the region will continue to accelerate.

⁶ Community member interview, Nayakhola

⁷ Female adolescent migrant, Amla

⁸ Community member focus group, Banibor

⁹ Community member focus group, Shyampura

Population growth reduces household production because larger numbers of eligible inheritors fragment landholdings. Families therefore have less land than their predecessors on which to subsist. Villagers understand this process well:

*Now the population is increasing and the land is decreasing.*¹⁰

*Because of the increase in family size, the landholdings have reduced.*¹¹

Community members in Amli explicitly connect small landholdings with migration: “the person with 3 *bighas* of land will not migrate but those with only 1 *bigha* will have to go.” The argument is clear: the size of landholding naturally determines the quantity of *anaz* that can be produced; households with smaller landholdings can produce less *anaz* and have a higher tendency to migrate. Adolescent migrant households in our survey have smaller landholdings than adolescent non-migrant households:

Table 19 : Cultivable and owned area

Group	Total Cultivable Area	Total Owned Area
1	2.91	2.95
2	3.98	5.37
3	3.71	4.28

Surplus labour

Small landholdings are able to produce less (as shown above), but also require less labour to cultivate them. The following tables show agricultural work time for *kharif* (table 20) and *rabi* (table 21).

Table 20 : *Kharif* work time

Group	Male work (hours)	Female work	Youth work	Total work
1	54.1	80.8	3.1	137.9
2	62.8	89.9	16.7	169.4
3	46.5	65.0	27.6	139.2

Table 21 : *Rabi* work time

Group	Male work	Female work	Youth work	Total work
1	28.8	36.2	1.0	66.0
2	41.3	52.0	20.1	113.4
3	23.0	30.7	12.0	65.7

10 Community member focus group, Banibor

11 Community member focus group, Gura

In both *kharif* and *rabi*, household agriculture uses fewer hours for group 1 and 3 households than for group 2. This is almost certainly the result of smaller landholdings and worse land. It is difficult to distinguish whether group 2 households use more labour at home than group 3 and therefore cannot send so many to migrate, or whether they have less need to migrate. However, the point that group 3 households have surplus agricultural labour relative to group 2 is clear, particularly remembering the larger family size. The shortage of fieldwork in *rabi* is reflected by the higher rates of adult migration in this period and by fairly high rates of adolescent migration. The reason that a smaller proportion of adolescents than adults migrate in this period is that cotton (the most significant employment for adolescents) labour demand is lower in *rabi*.

Some studies cite livestock ownership as an important influence in migration rates, because livestock require labour inputs. Livestock ownership is also a reasonable indicator of wealth.

Table 22 : Owning Livestock

Group	Cows	Buffalo	Goats	Chicken	Sheep	Bull
1	39.7 (1.3)	38.1 (1.3)	71.4 (3.7)	36.5 (3.1)	0 (0)	68.3 (1.7)
2	49.2 (1.5)	84.7 (1.5)	81.4 (4.3)	61.0 (4.8)	3.4 (4.0)	74.6 (1.8)
3	54.7 (1.5)	50.0 (1.3)	74.4 (3.5)	62.2 (4.1)	1.7 (2.3)	73.3 (1.7)

The numbers outside the brackets represent the percentage of households in each category owning the type of livestock and the numbers inside the brackets represent the average number of animals that they (households who own livestock) own.

The trend is slight but consistent across all categories of livestock: households with adolescent migrants are less likely to own most types of livestock and those who do own them own fewer livestock.

Family size

The rate of population growth is closely related to the average family size. Aside from having potentially greater supplies of surplus labour, large families require more to subsist. Villagers in Gura make the obvious point that “*if there are more children, then everything is scarce,*” and so “*the ones from big families also go. The ones from small families go less.*”¹² This connection is supported by the data:

12 Community member focus group, Gura



Table 23 : Family size, adolescents, dependents, and adolescent migrants

Group	Family size	Adolescents/hh	Proportion of household dependent*	Adolescent migrants/hh
1	4.4	0	0.40	0
2	6.2	2	0.38	0
3	6.7	2.4	0.25	1.43

*Dependents are below 12 and above 60

Adolescent migrant households not only contain more people and more adolescents, but they contain fewer dependent people. This is a difficult indicator to assess: on the one hand it means there are more individuals able to undertake household tasks at home, but on the other it might lessen the need for an individual to earn income because there are more potential income earners. However, given that the other indices of wealth show adolescent migration households to be relatively poor and that therefore everyone needs to earn income if they can, it is very probable that the former effect is stronger.

Unavailability of local employment

Drought, population growth and large families increase the dependence of households on wage labour but they also render it more difficult to secure locally. Community members in Shyampura suggest that low rainfall reduces the availability of employment:

The rains used to be good and the streams and rivers used to be full of water the whole year. We could sow two crops, both in rabi and kharif, due to which we got enough anaz to eat and enough fodder for the animals. We used to get small jobs in the village and the anaz was sufficient for the whole year. But since the rain has been meagre for the last 8-10 years, and due to drought, we have to go to Gujarat for dhurdhi bandhne (cotton plucking) or other work...migration is majburi. Not one wants to go to be happy.

The reduced demand for labour resultant from low rainfall corresponds with increased labour supply. This is because large families and households with small landholdings tend always to have surplus labour, and because households without irrigation require very little farm labour during non-productive seasons. The absence of locally available employment is noted by community members in Amlī: "There is a lack of labour at the local level," and Liladi: "They don't get jobs here, so they have to go," and by adolescents in Ghorimari: "We go to Gujarat because we don't get work here," Liladi: "I don't like going, but I have to go because we don't get any work in the village," Shyampura: "small children don't get work in the village," and Khedaghati: "If wage labour is available locally then the question of going to Gujarat does not arise." These assertions are supported by the extremely low levels of local employment in all villages.

Specific problems

There are also particular circumstances that contribute to distress conditions and can lead to the need for adolescents to migrate. Villagers note particularly compulsions related to social expenses (which will be discussed later), health, and debt. An adolescent girl in Nayakhola provided an example of the unavoidable need to meet debts incurred from medical costs: *"I was indebted [from expenses as a result of her father's medical treatment], so I had to go. A debt still remains."*¹³

Adolescent migrants' income is important not only to meet these immediate demands but also to make up for the loss of income from parents, as when their *"sons have to go to work because their father fell down and has a leg problem. Both boys started working at that time."*¹⁴ The story of this adolescent girl from Upli Subri is a particularly sad example:

*My dad committed suicide by hanging himself. Now there is nobody else to earn money. Hence, going to Gujarat is my majburi.*¹⁵

The role of adolescent migrants as provider to families in which parents have died is crucial and irreplaceable:

*I will also come back next year, and will also go to the plot. What can be done? I don't have a father so I have to come. I would like to study but how can I go to study? What would happen to my younger brothers, who would feed them? If I don't work, what will they eat? They would die.*¹⁶

The prevalence of distress migration

The combination of a fragile ability to subsist on their land and the unavailability of local employment creates a strong reason to migrate. Although not expressed by the villagers, this reason is likely to include a desire to diversify the household income portfolio to guard against crop failure. This diversification would necessitate avoiding locally available agricultural employment that is vulnerable to the same fluctuations as home production. Although no unambiguous data can be adduced, this assertion is supported in part by the overwhelming prevalence of migration even among reasonably well-endowed households.

Distress conditions are frequent across study villages, as the large food deficits examined above suggest. The pervasiveness of the economic distress motivation can be assessed by the reasons adduced by adolescents for migration, and by the facts that adolescents

¹³ Adolescent girl interview, Nayakhola.

¹⁴ Community member interview, Liladi

¹⁵ Adolescent girl interview, Upli Subri

¹⁶ Adolescent boy interview, Khedbrahma, Gujarat

remit on average 78.6% of their wages and 78% of adolescents report that their remittances were used to buy food grains.

Table 24 : Adult migrants

Group with adult migrants	% households adult migrants per household	Number of
1	92	1.08
2	90	1.32
3	88	1.36

Table 25 : Reasons for migration

Reason for migration	Percentage of respondents
Money for family	48%
Money for yourself	16%
Advance from contractor	13%
Did not like school	6%
No reason given	52%

Moreover, participants in most interviews and focus groups adduced reasons of economic distress as being behind the migration of adolescents, and communities frequently referred to the migration of adolescents as their *majburi*.

Distress migration is further suggested in by cases where decision to migrate is made by the adolescents' family rather than the adolescent. Interviews with community members in Khedaghati, Liladi, and Shyampura bear out the contention that adolescents are sent out of distress:

Where do the parents get the money from? And so, they send their children to Gujarat to do wage labour.

We are worried about our children, but what can be done? We are so poor that we have to send our children to Gujarat to work. Majburi ka naam Mahatma Gandhi hai [Helplessness is called Mahatma Gandhi]. What can be done if the children have work in such conditions?

Where will the money to run the house come from? For this reason we have to send them. The financial status of the house is very poor. Instead of sitting idly they [the adolescents] will bring some money.

Adolescents and some community members express reluctance to migrate or to send adolescents to migrate. A young girl from Amli puts it plaintively: "My parents send me. I don't want to go of my own will," and an adolescent boy from Banibor says "We don't

like going to Gujarat, but what to do, it's our majburi." 40% of adolescents report that their family made the decision for them to migrate. This cannot be directly translated into a rate of distress migration because some households will choose to send children for non-distress reasons. When coupled, however, with the expressed reluctance to send adolescents because of the perceived dangers of migrating (typified by this community member in Shyampura: "I don't want to send my children to Gujarat. I'll never send them, even by mistake"), this indicates a high rate of distress migration.

On the other hand, only 15% of adolescents report that their family would not be able to get enough money to survive if they did not go. Moreover, it is not clear that the reports of adolescents and community members of economic distress leading to adolescent migration necessarily mean that economic distress actually leads to adolescent migration. This disjunction has been noted elsewhere. A study in Burkina Faso by Keilland and Sanogo points out that while parents most often cite poverty as a reason for their children's migration, Keilland and Sanogo's own comparison of households of child migrants with households of those who stayed indicated that poverty was a much weaker factor than anticipated. However, our comparison of households containing migrating adolescents with households with non-migrating adolescents in study villages does not yield this conclusion. Table 26 compares incomes from various sources between households in different groups:

Table 26 : Incomes from various sources

Group	Loan	Livestock	<i>Kharif</i>	<i>Rabi</i>	Non-farm earnings	Migration remittance	Adolescent remittance
1	3833.3	931.3	1727.0	1519.5	7517.8	4926.9	-
(63)	(15)	(16)	(62)	(43)	(59)	(26)	
2	14188.9	1051.3	2727.5	2511.1	14867.7	8820.7	-
(59)	(9)	(26)	(58)	(47)	(58)	(33)	
3	4770.6	1042.0	1826.3	1645.6	12186.9	7084.6	3936.4
(171)	(32)	(51)	(169)	(124)	(170)	(167)	(162)

The numbers in brackets represent the number of households in each group engaged in the specified activity. It is clear that for each income source, households in group 3 earned less or produced a lower value than households in group 2. It does therefore seem that poverty is a significant determinant of whether adolescents migrate. The low percentage of adolescents who consider their migration earnings as essential to their households' survival may, therefore, be a reflection of a low threshold of what 'survival' means.

Non-distress economic explanations

Some adolescents migrating from households in distress conditions may not be migrating only or primarily because of distress reasons. In addition, adolescents who migrate from

non-distress households do so for non-distress reasons. In some cases, although most community members do not portray it this way, some households probably send adolescents to earn money for non-essential reasons. 20% of adolescent migrant households had agricultural surpluses that exceeded agricultural deficits: a net agricultural surplus. This represents a fairly large number of households from which adolescents migrate that are unlikely to be in distress. Adolescents from these households are likely to have migrated because their households desired additional income (for investment or additional consumption - discussed in the economic impacts). This is suggested by reference to *pese ka laalach* [earning money]: “They face a lot of problems there, but *pese ka laalach* makes us forget everything.”¹⁷

On the other hand, adolescents have their own reasons to migrate. These may be economic. Table 27 shows that 16% of adolescents reported that they migrated to earn money for themselves. Moreover, many adolescents reported spending at the worksites.

Table 27 : Migration spending

Spending category	Percentage who spent	Average spending (Rs)
Self ¹⁸	22%	164
Food	97%	742
Rent	14%	530
Health	19%	243
Clothes	32%	214

These data are supported by the testimonies of adolescent interviewees from every village. These comments from adolescents in Upli Subri are typical: “There, we earn money and buy clothes, and so on, for ourselves. *Apna shauk pura kar lete hain* [we do whatever we want to do].” Or from Gura: “We bought bangles, clothes, and jewellery for ourselves.” Indeed, the prevalence and strength of this sort of motive may be stronger than either the testimonies or the reported spending suggest if the school teacher from Amli is correct in his surmise that “they also spend money on giving gifts to the girls, but they don’t talk about this at home. They don’t tell the truth to their parents.”

2. Social and psychological determinants of migration

Migration, especially for adolescents, is not simply a matter of earning money. We must look beyond purely economic explanations of migration, examining the psychological and social logic behind it, if we are adequately to address the complexity of the phenomenon. Such factors as social customs and obligations, the respect an adolescent

¹⁷ Community members focus group, Amli

¹⁸ These adolescents were reticent about their spending out of 38, 26 did not say what they spent on, 11 spent on shoes, 2 on films, and 1 on recreation

gains from working and earning money, the desire for freedom - whether to pursue romantic relationships, spend time with peers, or control one's own spending - and a number of caste- and gender-related social conventions, influence the decision to migrate. Likewise, even when a household finds that economic distress has put them in a condition where one or more family members will have to migrate for labour, the factors governing which family member will go - and what kind of work they will get - rest on a variety of considerations that extend beyond economics, and could be best characterized as social in nature.

Social customs

Social customs such as weddings, *mautana*¹⁹, *mehman jana*²⁰, and even *mrityu bhoj*²¹, may contribute to families' indebtedness and thus - given the unavailability of local wage-earning employment - prompt migration for wage labour to help pay off the debt. One adolescent migrant recounted:

*When we attend a wedding, the entire village attends a feast. We cook rice. We wear new clothing for the wedding. The wedding is celebrated according to the economic status of the family. They pay dowry according to their capability. Loans are even taken for the weddings. Everyone helps with the work, and there is expenditure even at the time of death.*²²

Villagers may take out loans for weddings and other ceremonial events, loans which are often only available to them through village moneylenders and at a high rate of interest. Villagers in the Amli focus group discussion explained, "Expenditure on marriage, death meals, etc., is also increasing day by day".²³ As social pressures to spend conspicuously on such occasions increase, so too does indebtedness. This topic arose in focus group discussions and interviews but also in the questionnaires. 45% of adolescents reported that their remittances were spent on "other" items, which included some who mentioned spending on festivals and on repaying loans.

Earning *izzat*²⁴

One of the most common and straightforward answers adolescents gave to our inquiries about why they migrate was to earn money for the family. 48% of adolescents - the second largest proportion after those 52% who gave no reason - offered this response to the question "Why did you or

-
- 19 A fine charged by the society on the death of any person, specially when death is suspicious and somebody is responsible for it
 - 20 Customs associated with visiting relatives specially the inlaws.
 - 21 The ceremonial meal prepared on the occasion of a death, in which all villagers and relatives of the deceased participate.
 - 22 Interview with a female adolescent migrant, Nayakhola.
 - 23 Focus group discussion with community members.
 - 24 Honour, respect.



your family decide you should migrate?" given in the questionnaire, and another 16% responded that they migrated to earn money for themselves. Money is obviously a big motivator for adolescents to migrate. The importance adolescents impute to earning money from migration, however, may not be due solely to the material value of the money, but also to the respect it purchases - the recognition they gain from their family and community for having earned it. This can be a powerful psychological motivation to migrate.

Both family and local society may pay special respect to an adolescent - and perhaps any member - who migrates for wage labour and thereby contributes to strengthening the family's financial status. As this Nayakhola adolescent explained how, upon returning from migration, "*Other people say that, 'this girl has earned money'....We work hard. This also increases your izzat in the family*".²⁵ Another adolescent, also female, recounted, "*When I bring the money back from Gujarat, my family members take special care of me - 'This girl earns money' - and so they let me do whatever I want*".²⁶ The extent to which the respect earned from migration influences the decision to go, or to keep going, is potentially greater for girls, who have a more limited number of other channels through which to garner such high regard from household members.

Earning money

Although adolescents earn *izzat* instrumentally through their remittances and the items that they bring home, which in most cases constitute the bulk of their earnings, adolescent migrants also enjoy earning and being able to spend money. This will be more thoroughly explained in the worksite experience section, but we can note that nearly a quarter of all adolescent migrants reported spending on themselves (including a quarter of those in *dhodhi bandhane*), and this spending is made possible by earning. The underlying motives in these cases can be complex. A community member in Liladi suggests that "in working [the adolescent] also acquires greed for money." The allure, however, does not lie simply in the desire for money per se, but also in a search for financial autonomy alluded to by an adolescent girl in Liladi who migrated because she wanted to buy clothes and her parents wouldn't give her money for that. Adolescents often refer to the instrumental value of money (for buying presents and making friends), but community members discuss - and it seems reasonable to mention - the intrinsic value of money in terms of not only greed but also self-sufficiency and autonomy. Adolescents who earn money, for whatever purpose, are engaging in a form of empowerment.

The role of gender

As the example of 'earning *izzat*' alludes, gender influences many aspects of the decision to migrate. When the choice is between a brother and sister of the same age group, the

²⁵ Interview with adolescent female, Gura.

²⁶ Adolescent girl interview, Amli

family may send the girl to work because sending the girl to school is not perceived as beneficial for the family. As this adolescent girl in Gura explained, *“they sent me to Gujarat for work because they wanted their sons to study while I do the cattle work, etc. Hence, having made me drop out of school, they sent me off to Gujarat”*.²⁷ Investing in the girl child is not financially beneficial to her natal family, as the girl will go to her in-laws’ house after marriage. Not only do community members question the benefit of investing in girls, but in explaining girls’ absence from school they also emphasise the importance of the work undertaken by girls at home. The absence from school, in turn, removes a good reason for girls to stay in the village - from both their point of view and from that of their parents - and places emphasis on the girls’ productive role. These factors increase the likelihood of migration, as it follows logically from this conception of girls as producers that girls would migrate for wage labour during seasons when their domestic responsibilities are diminished. Families may pressure girls to earn for their marriage. Although most household financial decisions are made on the basis of shared access and shared responsibility, where a specific cash outlay is apparent the responsibility tends to move towards the individual for whom the money is spent. It is felt that girls must bear some responsibility for their future because *“girls are to be married, so what can we do without money?”*²⁸

Despite the various pressures that push and pull girls to migrate, a number of concerns also serve to keep girls at home. Parents, like this mother, have expressed, *“I am also constantly worried about my daughter. She had fallen sick out there”*.²⁹ Community members worry about health and safety - especially for girls - at the worksite. Moreover, although girls are less likely to be in school, they are more likely to be engaged in household work at home. Yet despite this and the fact that girls typically earn less than boys, a roughly equal number of male and female adolescents migrate. There were 75 households surveyed containing both at least 1 adolescent female and at least 1 adolescent male. Table 28 shows the percentage of these households from which more female adolescents migrated, more male adolescents migrated, and an equal number migrated (or did not migrate):

Table 28 : Proportion of migrants by gender from households with both male and female adolescents

Gender of adolescent migrants	Percentage households
More Female	21.3
More male	21.3
Equal number	57.3

²⁷ Interview with an adolescent female, Gura

²⁸ Community member focus group, Liladi.

²⁹ Interview with a mother of an adolescent migrant, Upli Subri.

It seems clear from this that there is no discernible bias away from sending female adolescents. Ultimately, families tell us, it is in distress conditions that they resort to sending their daughters, remarking, "*Kya karen? Majburi hai*" - "What can we do? We have no other choice".

Families' concerns aside, girls also choose to migrate independently, motivated by desires much like those that motivate boys. These desires are explored below, but it is worth bearing in mind that for girls, adolescent migration represents a rare opportunity in their lives: a much smaller proportion of adult females migrate. When girls are married the possibilities for independence, control over spending and relationships, and making new friendships are reduced.

Freedom and fun

For the 60% of adolescents who made their own decision to migrate - and especially the 12.5% who did so without their families' knowledge - migration represents a gateway to freedom. Migration enables adolescents to make their own decisions - and the decision to migrate is itself a powerful symbol of this - decisions that they might not make at home. Specifically, adolescent migrants enjoy greater decision-making power over relationships, spending, movement and activities, in part facilitated by their independent earnings. A schoolteacher in Amli characterized the experience in this manner, remarking, "*There is complete independence there. There is no one to say anything*".³⁰ His words are echoed by the adolescent who admitted, "*Along with independence, my friends also kept taking gutka, so I also got into the habit*".³¹

Along with this wider latitude for independent decision-making thus comes the opportunity for adolescents to experiment, and to try new things, which can be quite fun. Community members have pointed out the role that freedom and the space to enjoy one's self play in contributing to adolescents' expectations that migration will be fun. As a community member in Nayakhola remarks, "50% of children go for '*moj masti*' [enjoyment]. The decision to go is mostly the children's. Most of the children go to enjoy themselves. They don't give much importance to money". This should not displace the importance of other motives. In the same interview he also said that "*parents decide who will go to Gujarat according to the responsibilities. Children are sent according to the family's situation*".³² However, even if the adolescent has not made the decision to migrate independently, the freedom and enjoyment he or she expects migration to offer can still provide a reason to confer with his or her family's wishes.

The influence of peers

An important force in transmitting the expectations of freedom and fun to prospective

30 Focus group discussion with community members.

31 Interview with a male adolescent migrant, Khedaghati.

32 Interview, January 7, 2005.

adolescent migrants are their migrant peers. Adolescents may hear about their peers' experience enjoying freedom at the worksite, and become drawn towards it. One adolescent recounted of his decision to migrate, *"After hearing the boys talking about the fun there, I was influenced. The main reason for migrating was to have fun"*.³³ The effects of peer pressure are also relevant here - simply the fact that the rest of one's peer group will be migrating may itself be enough to convince an adolescent to go along, even if he or she does not know much about the fun or the hardships of the worksite. Moreover, it is not merely the persuasion of adolescents' peers that motivates them but also the fact that so many adolescents migrate, meaning that all their friends are at the worksite. An adolescent in Shyampura explained, *"I just went of my own will. Everyone went, so I also went along"*.³⁴

The opportunity to form friendships and spend time with peers is also a pull to the worksite. An adolescent in Amli explained, *"Money is also essential and along with that, I also go to have fun with my friends"*.³⁵ At least 60% of adolescents migrate along with a group of peers, affording them plenty of opportunity to socialize with other adolescents.

Romantic relationships

Migration provides a way of meeting adolescents from other villages, and along with it the prospect of romance - even sex. This girl from Gura, for example, spoke very openly about the subject, saying adolescents get involved in relationships with different boys at each different worksite, *"We go to a different place to work every year, and hence meet different people, so we have relationships with different people every time. If we feel like having a sexual relationship, then somehow we find a way to have one"*.³⁶ Her experience is not rare - 50% of adolescents reported that either they or other adolescents had been involved in romantic relationships at the worksite. Accounts of such experiences make it back to the village and play a role in attracting other adolescents to the freedom migration offers.

In the bazaar

Another exciting aspect of the worksite for adolescents is the proximity of the market. 16% of adolescents cited wanting money for their own spending purposes as their reason for migration, and migration provides them the opportunity not only to earn money, but also to make decisions quite freely about how to spend it. Although many adolescents migrate to rural areas of Gujarat for work in the cotton fields, these sites are often closer to small cities and markets than their home villages which the adolescents frequent. This adolescent migrant gave a detailed account of his spending on a visit to the market:

33 Interview with a male adolescent migrant, Khedaghati.

34 Focus group discussion with adolescent females, Shyampura

35 Interview with female adolescent, Khedaghati.

36 Interview with a female adolescent, Gura

*It is also easy to make friends with girls out there. I also made friends with a girl. She is from a village Thana, close to my village, and is the daughter of an adivasi. She took the initiative in the friendship and then we went to the market to roam around. I gave her Rs 100 cash and also gave her gifts like sandals, a chain, etc. I also used to give her gutkha. I spent almost Rs 500 on this girl. She also used to spend money on me. She also gave me Rs 150 cash and also gave me gutkha.*³⁷

Back at the worksite, as well, adolescents have opportunities to spend their earnings on personal items - often *gutkha* or *bidi* - which may also have social exchange value in pursuing relationships. The relative freedom adolescents have to enjoy such economic and social transactions - to make decisions about their spending habits and their relationships - constitutes a major attraction to migrate. The market is not simply a place to spend; it is also a place for social interaction, as these adolescents from Upli Subri explain: *"We also go to market during our free time. It is not necessary that we go buy something; we just go to have fun with girls."*³⁸ The opening of new spaces for interaction with the opposite sex is a powerful motivation behind migration for many adolescents.

It is important to note that economic and social reasons for migration do not preclude one another; it would be oversimplifying the interlocking processes at work in adolescent migration to try to separate out those who migrate due to conditions of economic distress from those who migrate for enjoyment or other social reasons. Adolescents may migrate for a number of reasons combined. The economic and the social - the exigencies of distress and the promise of enjoyment - may combine, though perhaps with different proportions of influence, to compel any given adolescent to migrate. The force of these motives is, combined, enough to keep adolescents returning to migrant labour season after season, despite the variety of hardships at the worksite.

3. Education-related determinants of migration

Education and schooling provide direct and indirect motives for adolescent migration. In some cases, adolescents may dislike and, for various other reasons, drop out of school, then decide to migrate. A community member in Madla apprised us of this phenomenon, explaining, "If they're beaten by a teacher or don't do well in school, they go straight to Gujarat". Having dropped out of school, the adolescent turns to migration in an attempt to do something productive with his or her life. Yet only 10% of adolescents who had attended school cited disliking school as a reason for migrating. Hence the importance of cases where causality works the other way around, and the need or desire to migrate may prompt the adolescent to drop out. In such cases, the issue of concern is that school dropout removes a major reason for the adolescent to stay in the village. The

37 Interview with a male adolescent, Khedagahti

38 Adolescent boys focus group, Upli Subri .

adolescent may make his or her own decision to migrate, having been lured by an advance from a contractor, or enticed by peers' stories. Alternately, his or her family may decide that it is best for him or her to migrate in order to earn money that will contribute to essential household expenses. The adolescent may, likewise, be motivated by his or her own conscience to migrate in order to help his or her family provide for food grains or other essentials. Finally, for the 50% of adolescents in the sample who never attended school, educational considerations of course provide no pull to stay in the village, and they are thus even more susceptible to deciding to migrate.

Dropout

An adolescent in Ghorimari explained how he first dropped out of school, then later decided to migrate for work, saying, *"I quit studying out of my own will. One year after quitting, I went to Gujarat"*.³⁹ His case is unusually clear-cut in that he made the decision to drop out of school before deciding to migrate, so it is easier to conclude that dropping out of school could have provided reason for him to migrate, rather than the opportunity to migrate providing reason to drop out of school. For the most part, however, cases of school dropout and their relation to migration were more complicated. Oftentimes, rather than directly providing reason to migrate, school dropout instead played a role in making adolescents more vulnerable to the proximate causes of migration.

As adolescents and communities narrated their experiences of migration, they referred to dropping out of school as one factor in the decision making process that led the adolescent to migrate. A parent of an adolescent migrant in the Leelri focus group explained how the decision to leave school is connected to many other motivations to migrate and ultimately part of a larger issue of socio-economic distress:

*Sometimes children also go with the meth after being misled by him without telling the parents. They even leave their studies and go with the meth. But it is because I am a father and cannot give money to my son studying in school to buy textbooks, pens, etc and the teacher scolds and even beats my child. In such a situation, when the meth comes and says that he will give him money for work, the child goes with him. Upon their return, we send them to school. But when this process is repeated, the child ultimately loses his interest in his studies.*⁴⁰

This father's story shows how though the promise of money offered by the *meth* is the kind of proximate cause of the adolescent's migration, the fact that the adolescent's family is poor and that he thus cannot afford school supplies and is beaten in school, had already put him in a situation where he was primed to want to drop out of school and to

³⁹ Interview with an adolescent boy, January 12, 2005
⁴⁰ March 5, 2005

accept the *meth's* offer. Can we clearly say whether the adolescent dropped out because of the *meth's* offer or because of aspects of his experience within the school? It seems most reasonable to say that both provided motivation, as both featured in the father's narrative. These dimensions are present, again, in the son's narration of his own story of deciding to migrate for work:

I don't like going, but I have to go because we don't get any work in the village. I left my studies because I didn't have money for a notebook and pen, and so the teacher used to beat me. I felt sorry about leaving the school but no other option was available.

Interestingly, while the father emphasized that his son left school to migrate for work along with a *meth*, the son seems to emphasize that he left school because of his lack of money and the teacher's behaviour, then decided to migrate because no work was available in the village. Ultimately, the various social, educational, and economic reasons that motivate adolescents to migrate cannot be so cleanly separated from one another, and could only be partially understood through the item on the questionnaire asking "Why did you or your family decide you should migrate?", and giving the option of six discrete answers: needing money for the family, cited by 48% of adolescents; wanting money for themselves, cited by 16%; receiving an advance, cited by 13%; disliking school, cited by 6%; failure in school, which none cited; and other.

Even though a modest percentage of adolescents cited disliking school - and none cited failure in school - as an answer to this item on the questionnaire, interviews and focus groups illuminated how disliking school, failure in school, and dropout, are indirectly very much part of adolescent's motivation to migrate to earn money for the family, to earn money for themselves, and to take an advance.

Therefore it is important to also look at why adolescents drop out of school. Adolescent responses to this effect on the questionnaire revealed the following (table 29):

Table 29 : Formal school drop-outs' reasons for leaving school

Reason for leaving	%female (17) giving reason	%male (56) giving reason
Boredom	23.5	42.9
Failure	11.8	32.1
Fees	5.9	5.4
Fieldwork	29.4	23.2
Housework	29.4	8.9
Money for HH	11.8	21.4
Illness	0	1.8
Parental Pressure	0	7.1
Teacher Beating	0	3.6
Not Given	0	1.8

Whilst only 23.5% of females cited boredom as a reason for leaving school, 42.9% of males gave this, and 32.1% of males cited failure, whereas only 11.8% of females did. More common reasons for girls to leave school were fieldwork and housework. The major problems for boys seem to be very different - much more individual - than those for girls, who appear to face greater household demands. Boys also appear to feel more pressure to work, which usually means migrating, to earn money for their households, as 21.4% of them cited this as their reason for leaving school, whereas only 11.8% of girls did.

Boredom

The boredom that prompted 38% of adolescent migrants to leave school, and ultimately to migrate, could be due to a number of aspects of the quality of schooling. Teacher absenteeism and low quality teaching, curricular content that seems disconnected from the ability to get a job and irrelevant to the adolescent's life, or just uninspiring, may all prompt an adolescent to leave school. Boredom with school was, notably, much a much more common reason for males to drop out of school (42.9% gave this response), than females (only 23.5% selected this response). It may be that females were pulled out of school for work before they had a chance to get bored.

Need to earn money for the household

For the 28% of adolescent migrants who cited the need to earn money for the household as their reason for leaving school, their migrant labour presumably fulfilled at least part of this need. One adolescent described how his father compelled him to drop out of school in order to migrate for labour:

*I had studied 'till class 6, but could not pass and in the middle of the session I migrated to Gujarat. My father forced me to quit studying and said that we need money more than education. Hence, I was sent for work.*⁴²

For this adolescent, his failure in school probably contributed to his father's sense that money was more important than education, as the boy seemed to be learning very little in school and thus there would seem little point in him attending. For other adolescents who were not failing in school, they and their families either did not see school as useful in learning employable skills or getting a job, or else had such a pressing short term need for money that their entry into the workforce could not be delayed. Or perhaps both reasons were operative. For a household struggling to even fulfil its basic consumption needs, the cost of school supplies, as well as the opportunity cost of sending an adolescent to school in comparison to employing them in some kind of productive work, can be difficult to bear.

⁴² Interview with an adolescent boy, Nayakhola, January 7, 2005.

Failure

According to one zonal worker, a popular saying about school-going adolescents in Madri zone is:

Pass hua to zindabad,

Passed, then hooray

Fail hua to Ahmedabad

Failed, then Ahmedabad

The zonal worker observed that failure in school often provides an impetus for adolescents to migrate - in this case, to Ahmedabad, which functions as the proverbial migrant destination-to-represent-all-destinations. Throughout the duration of our research, as adolescents and community members apprised us of their views on schooling and education, the saying proved quite apt. Adolescents fail out of school, and rather than subsequently sitting idle at home in a season when there is no agricultural work to be done, in a village plagued with inadequate rainfall, small landholdings, and large families, they opt to migrate out for work.

Failure in school was the reason for adolescents' dropout in 27% of cases. Failure precipitates dropout from school, as one adolescent in Gura explained, "*My parents had sent me to school, but after failing I dropped out*"⁴³. Failure in school becomes one less reason to stay in the village, and one more reason for adolescents to migrate for labour in an attempt to do something productive, and potentially exciting, with their lives.

Some adolescents fail despite what appears to be their best efforts, as in the case of a boy in the Banibor adolescent focus group, who had failed in class 4. He explained that he had failed because he was not intelligent and could not understand anything, so he dropped out and went to Gujarat for wage labour.⁴⁴ Others - "Most of the children" - as a parent of an adolescent migrant urged, "fail in school" because "*They don't like studying*". He added, "*I used to think that I will educate my son, but he did not study, so what shall I do?*"⁴⁵ This may indicate poor teaching quality, perhaps somewhat like the struggles of this Liladi adolescent, who remarked, "I was good at studying initially. I knew tables, calculations, etc., but after the transfer of our school teacher, the new teacher used to smoke *bidis*, drink *daru* and catch fish".⁴⁶ For adolescents such as these, boredom and other reasons to dislike studying may result in failure, even if parents support their children in their studies. For others, parents' attitudes towards studying may be further obstacles to success in school.

Interestingly, only 11.8% of females cited failure as a reason for dropping out of school, whereas 32.1% of males did. The reasons for this are not clear, but based on the

⁴³ Interview with male adolescent migrant, Gura, February 3, 2005.

⁴⁴ February 18, 2005.

⁴⁵ Interview with community member, Nayakhola, January 7, 2005.

⁴⁶ Interview with male adolescent migrant, March 5, 2005.

much higher numbers of females who leave school to help with work at home or in the fields, we could hypothesize that - as in the case of lower rates of boredom - females are pulled out of school for work before they have a chance to fail.

Work in the fields and the home

Even if adolescents do not migrate for labour, work in the village, in their families' fields and homes, often prompts them to leave school. 29.4% of girls cited having to help with housework as their reason for dropping out of school, and this, along with work in the fields, tied as the most frequently cited reason for girls' school dropout. A girl in Banibor explained, "I have to do work at home and so I don't want to go to school and I'm not even able to learn any other work".⁴⁷ Such in-village work-related concerns were much more common among girls. In Upli Subri, one mother was particularly explicit about the role of her daughter: "She did not attend school. We did not send her to school so that she could do small chores around the house - feed the children, fetch water, get fodder and fuelwood, etc."⁴⁸ Only 8.9% of boys responded that help with work at home was their reason to leave school, but 23.2% of boys responded that work in the fields was their reason, making it the third most common response among males. The fact that families deem in-village work important enough that it becomes a reason for an adolescent to drop out of school, demonstrates that families widely perceive the years between 10 to 18 as a time appropriate for an adolescent to be working. Then the question of an adolescent migrating becomes a not so much a question of whether the adolescent should be working, but simply of the location in which that work takes place

School fees

5% of adolescents responded that lack of money for school fees was the reason for their school dropout. Adolescents also mentioned difficulty affording textbooks and other supplies as a barrier to attending school, like the Liladi boy quoted above, who remarked, "I left my studies because I didn't have money for a notebook and pen, and so the teacher used to beat me".⁴⁹ This may be a question of the household's perception of the value of investing in school relative to other investments - and in the case of girls, in particular, we found the value attributed to this investment to be quite low. Dropout due to lack of money for school fees could also be a symptom of broader economic distress, where even small investments - a notebook and pen - may be too much for families struggling just to survive, and for whom the adolescent's migrant labour wages are essential.

Parental pressure

7.1% of male adolescent migrants, and surprisingly, none of the females we surveyed,

⁴⁷ Interview with female adolescent migrant, Banibor, February 18, 2005.

⁴⁸ Interview, February 9, 2005.

⁴⁹ Interview, March 5, 2005.

cited parental pressure as their reason for dropping out of school. Parents pull their children out of school for a variety of reasons. For instance, the father of an adolescent in Nayakhola told his son *"we need money more than education"*⁵⁰. Another case are the parents of the Gura girl who recounted that, *"they sent me to Gujarat for work because they wanted their sons to study while I do the cattle work, etc. Hence, having made me drop out of school, they sent me off to Gujarat"*⁵¹. Thus there are a number of factors that go into the parents' decision to pull their children out of school - the gender of the child and the family's ability to fund the education of other children (as with the Gura girl), for one, but also economic distress, desire to take advantage of opportunities for economic accumulation, and the value parents place on school relative to these other concerns.

Valuing education

The frequency with which adolescents drop out of school - or never attend in the first place - in favour of migrating for work, raises some questions about villagers' attitudes towards work and towards school. Do adolescents leave school to migrate because they or their families do not attach much value to education? Is adolescent migration just a spatial extension of a cultural context in which children are expected, as a priority before all else, to work? Evidence on this matter is inconclusive. Adolescents and community members we spoke to made statements indicating a high regard for both the intrinsic value, as well as the usefulness, of studying. For adolescents, this often took the form of aspirations to educate their own children, and for adults, the commitment to educate their children or statements about the utility of education.

Adolescent migrants in the Shyampura focus group articulated their concern for educating their future children:

*When we have children, we will send them to study. We won't send them to be labourers. Reading and writing makes children intelligent. They will have a job. We didn't study, but we will educate our children.*⁵²

The adolescents, though they had not themselves studied, expressed the belief that studying would help their children get jobs, as well as adding something of value in making them more intelligent. An adolescent migrant in Khedaghati, along these lines, remarked, *"I will even do wage labour to educate my children. I will not spoil the life of my children"*.⁵³ This adolescent prioritized educating children before sending them to work, showing a willingness to do wage labour herself before resorting to taking her children out of school to migrate.

50 Interview with male adolescent migrant, Nayakhola, January 7, 2005.

51 Interview, Gura, February 3, 2005.

52 January 17, 2005

53 Interview with a female adolescent migrant, Khedaghati, February 17, 2005

A mother of an adolescent migrant in Liladi told us she had harboured dreams of sending her sons to study in the city.⁵⁴ Her plans, however, were thwarted when their father fell ill and the sons were forced to migrate in order to support the household and pay for his medical expenses. She has not given up on her dream, however. She plans to send her grandchildren to study in the city. For her, educating her children was clearly the first priority, but distress left her with little choice but to send her children to work instead.

Likewise indicating respect for the value of education, a parent of an adolescent migrant in Nayakhola remarked, *"An educated child will do agriculture in a scientific way"*.⁵⁵ Another parent in Ghor Mari remarked, *"If we educate girls, they could get jobs"*.⁵⁶ Both statements demonstrated an appreciation for the practical ways in which education benefits a child, even if his vocation is farming, and even if she is a girl. Although it is not clear how widespread such perceptions are, they are certainly not absent.

Table 30 : Formal school leavers' desire to return to school

Wish to return to school	Respondents
Don't know	10
No	34
Yes	29
Total	73

Of the adolescents who responded to the question, 39.7% expressed a desire to return to school, while 46.6% did not wish to return.

Table 31 : Adolescents' preference for work or education

Prefer studying or working	Respondents
Studying	33
Working	38
Both	37
Neither	3
Don't know	59

By the same token, questionnaire responses indicated slightly more adolescents preferred working (22%) to studying (19.2%), while a similar proportion (21.5%) liked studying and working equally (See Table 31).

⁵⁴ The following story taken from an interview with a community member, March 5, 2005.

⁵⁵ Interview with a community member, January 7, 2005.

⁵⁶ Focus group discussion with mothers of adolescent migrants, January 12, 2005.

The kind of ambivalence about school that these results portray indicate that preferences for studying vary greatly between adolescents, and that perhaps not as many adolescents really want to return to school as we would have thought from the uniformly enthusiastic expressions of desire to return to school that we witnessed in interviews and focus groups. Even if adolescents and decision-makers in their households recognize the importance of the unique opportunity provided to a 10 to 18 year old to set aside time during the formative years of his or her life to studying and cultivating capabilities that will potentially serve him or her greatly in later life, the value accrued to studying is only one consideration among many other, often urgent needs, concerns and desires. Many factors intervene in between intention and action, and thus the desire to study does not guarantee the means to do so. It is these various economic, social and psychological factors that motivate adolescents to leave school and to migrate that are thus detailed in accompanying sections of this report.

The impact of education on migration

There is not only a variety of important education-related reasons for migration but there are also important effects of education on an adolescent's migration in terms of remittance and employment. The clearest measurable result of education (but not necessarily the most important) is a student's literacy status and calculative ability. Full literacy has a slight positive impact on the reported monthly remittances of adolescent migrants, although the ability to sign one's name does not. The most important impact, however, comes from the ability to calculate.

Table 32 : Literacy and adolescent remittances

Literacy	Calculative ability	% adolescent migrants	Remittance/ month
Illiterate	Yes	0	-
	No	43.3	884
Sign Name	Yes	1.2	850
	No	21.9	793.5
Literate	Yes	26.3	945
	No	7.3	866.1

One reason for this disparity may be the jobs that illiterate and literate adolescents get.

There is a clear distinction between the monthly remittances of migrant jobs:



Table 33 : Employment and remittance

Employment	% adolescent migrants	Monthly Remittance (Rs)
Construction	24.5	1050.4
Cotton	48.6	770.1
Driver	0.8	550
Factory	4.9	969.4
Hotel	1.2	533.3
Not Given	2.0	675
Other	11.4	1224.7
More than 1	6.5	764.4

Amongst the most common jobs, construction is much more remunerative than cotton, which is least remunerative employment.

The essential reason why literate adolescents especially with the ability to calculate are paid better is that they are in less remunerative employment.

Table 34 : Employment and literacy

Employment	% illiterate (107)	% adolescents signing names (54)	% literate without calculations (18)	% literate (93)	% calculative ability (75) ¹
Construction	15.0	20.4	38.9	35.5	34.7
Cotton	59.8	51.9	33.3	29.0	28.0
Driver	0	1.9	0	1.1	1.3
Factory	3.7	3.7	5.6	7.5	8.0
Hotel	0	0	0	3.2	4.0
Not Given	0.9	1.9	11.1	9.7	9.3
Other	15.0	11.1	5.6	7.5	8.0
More than 1	5.6	9.3	5.6	6.5	6.7

¹73 adolescents who can calculate are fully literate and 2 can sign their name

The striking feature of this table is the decrease in proportion of cotton workers from left to right. The transfer of workers from cotton to other more remunerative forms of employment is the reason why more literate adolescents and those with the ability to calculate are paid more. The difference in proportion between adolescents who are totally illiterate and those who can sign their names is not large but the difference in proportion between the totally illiterate and the fully literate is: learning to sign one's name has no clear effect on migrant income.

Interesting, there appears to be no significant effect of literacy on remittance for different migrants within the same employment:

Table 35 : Effects of literacy on remittance within employment categories

Literacy	Calculative Ability	Construction monthly remittance	Cotton monthly remittance	Factory monthly remittance	Other monthly remittance
Illiterate	No	1153 (16)	805 (64)	1160 (4)	1120 (16)
Sign Name	No	808 (11)	709 (28)	900 (2)	1092 (1)
Sign Name	Yes	950 (2)	750 (1)	-	-
Literate	No	1001 (7)	680 (6)	-	850 (1)
Literate	Yes	1106 (24)	766 (20)	865 (6)	1625 (6)

Employment categories with significant numbers of adolescent migrants only

Number of adolescent migrants in each category in brackets

Reported monthly remittances actually decrease with literacy. This makes it clear that the effect of literacy on monthly remittance is through the employment category that adolescent migrants enter. The decrease with literacy may be explained by reporting error or higher spending by literate adolescents at the worksite. The effect of employment on remittance can be again noted by the much higher remittance from literate adolescents who can calculate in the "other" category, presumably because they have access to more remunerative employment.

However, it is not clear from these data through which channel the effect of literacy on employment category operates. For instance, it may be the case that more literate adolescents come from better connected families and can therefore access more remunerative jobs. Alternatively, if literate adolescents tend to be from richer families, they may be able to endure higher search costs or have higher incomes thresholds. Or perhaps there is something inherent in the employment that requires literacy and calculative ability to enter it.

Literacy does indeed relate to household spending, a fairly good proxy for household wealth.

Table 36 : Literacy and per capita spending

Literacy status of adolescent migrants in household	Number of households	Average per capita spending
All adolescent migrants fully literate and can calculate	26	1531
Some adolescent migrants fully literate or all partially literate	46	1345
All adolescent migrants illiterate	99	1136

This correlation raises the possibility that the seeming connection between literacy and employment type works through the wealth of the household in the ways suggested above. We cannot, therefore, definitively determine the effect that literacy has on employment category. However, what remains clear, and important, is that literate adolescents earn more than their illiterate counterparts, and that the ability to calculate seems particularly significant in this. Moreover, in our sample 21% of those that could calculate reported economic exploitation (in the form of withheld wages or unmet promises), compared to 37% of those who could not calculate. The ability just to read and write and not calculate made no difference to the rates of exploitation.



7. Structures of Adolescent Migration

The compulsions, motivations, incentives, cultural norms and household relations that have been discussed in the first part of this report establish for adolescents powerful reasons to migrate. The nature of their migration is however crucially constrained by structural factors that include social networks, institutions, broad social and economic change, and geography. These structures interact with the adolescent as agent to determine the migration destination, employment conditions, and duration, and therefore the benefits and costs of migration to adolescents and their households. They are also important in explaining why some adolescents migrate and some do not. Finally, these structures are instrumental in dictating the information available to migrants and their families and this of course affects the eventual migration choice.

Economy and geography

Since large numbers of adolescents migrate to Gujarat it is relevant to investigate briefly the differences between Udaipur District and Gujarat. The physical geography of Udaipur District and rural Gujarat has important implications for the economies of both regions and the connections between them. The hills and small landholdings of Udaipur District compare unfavourably in terms of productivity to Gujarat's flat plains and large landholdings. This has in part been responsible for considerable economic differences between the regions, and hence the availability of employment.

This geographical difference has also meant that there tends to be large quantities of surplus labour in Udaipur District (as explained in the micro-analysis above) and a general shortage of labour in Gujarat. Moreover, entrenched economic disparities contribute to the fact that *"the labourers in Kotra are not aware, so they don't know much about getting some money. The local labourers demand more wages than the labourers from Rajasthan."*⁵⁷ In addition, the higher coverage of schooling in Gujarat tends to reduce the availability of cheap local adolescent labour. Employers sometimes remark that young children are particularly adept at certain sort of work because of their nimble hands. This is often used as a justification for the (often illegal) employment of adolescents. However, much more convincing than this claim is the argument that adolescents are willing to work for much lower wages than adults. It is this willingness and not a particular skill or physical characteristic that results in large numbers of adolescents (and not adults) working in cotton fields.

57 Seth interview, Vadoth village, Gujarat

WH-150
12659



The geographical proximity of the regions is significant in determining the migration pattern. Since contractors are responsible for arranging and paying for transport and since very young adolescents often migrate, the proximity of source and destination villages is important to contractors, migrants, and migrant families concerned about their children.

Adolescent migration should also be seen in the context of increasing population and labour mobility, and of accelerating urbanisation. Whilst official statistics do not adequately capture mobility and hence show a decline in population mobility (Kundu 2003) micro-studies typically reveal increases in migration. As has been made clear, there are high rates of migration from Udaipur District. Katiyar, Khandelwal and Kumar (2003) estimate that up to 64% of individuals in Udaipur district migrate. The processes of migration establish routes and employment centres and make it easier for individuals to become involved in migration. As individuals leave rural areas and generate urban wealth, the demand for service and construction labour increases, and adolescent migrants are often involved in these sectors. As India's economic growth looks likely to continue, this demand for labour will increase.

Contractors

Contractors are instrumental in facilitating and determining the nature of adolescents' migration. 84% of adolescents surveyed reported that they migrated with a contractor. Contractors are often from the home village of the adolescent and sometimes graduate to the work from labour. They usually find employment and arrange transport to it, and negotiate the terms of employment, thus playing a major role in migration. Although in isolated cases employers come directly to villages to find labour, it is likely that without contractors far fewer adolescents would be able to migrate. Contractors are therefore an integral part of the adolescent migration process.

They typically earn Rs 5 per labourer per day. This incentive and their market power allows them to act manipulatively. As table 25 (in the economic determinants section) shows, 13% of adolescents reported that they migrated because of an advance from a *meth*. Community members are clear that contractors manipulate children by advancing them money:

*The meth insures that the children come by giving them Rs 50-60 in advance.*⁵⁸

*The meth manipulates them into going.*⁵⁹

*The meth gives Rs 50-100 to the children beforehand.*⁶⁰

*A meth comes from another village and takes the children by coaxing them.*⁴

For 9 out of the 23 adolescents who reported that they migrated because of an advance,

58 Community member focus group, Khedaghati

59 Community member interview, Ghorimari

60 Community member interview, Nayakhola

however, their family had taken the decision for them to migrate. There is some explanation for this in reports from various villages that migrants take advances of up to Rs 10,000 (although this was an anomalously large figure) from contractors for marriages. It is possible, however, that parents are complicit in manipulation because "*many times the meth takes the children manipulatively and gives Rs 50-100 to the family members so they can't object.*"⁶² The suggestion that Rs 100 pre-empts the objections of family members indicates both the financial hardship faced by many households and the power of the contractors over adolescents and their parents.

Authorities

Adolescent migration takes place within a framework of law that applies to labourers, migrants, and children. A recent survey by Aajeevika Bureau identified twelve laws applying to migrants. These included the Minimum Wages Act (1948), which is consistently broken by cotton field employers who pay on average 70% of the minimum wage; the Inter-State Migrant Workers Act (1979), which provides amongst other things for displacement allowance and suitable residential accommodation and is almost never adhered to; and the Child Labour (Protection and Regulation) Act (1986) that prohibits employment of children on hazardous occupations and regulates employment of minors but is complicated by uncertainties over the ages of children and the need of their families. The survey found that "implementation for each [of the twelve acts] is found to be slow, ineffective or inadequate." Adolescent migrants operating in the unorganised sector are usually unconnected to this corpus of law. This has (largely negative) consequences for the terms of their employment, the likelihood of contracts being honoured, the conditions in which they live, and the age from which they start migrating. However, whilst changes in this institutional environment could improve the earnings from and conditions of migration, it risks preventing illegal employment on which many households depend.

The inactivity of the legal framework may well be connected to the hostile attitude of the individuals in authority towards migrants. A senior police officer in Udaipur District remarked that migrants were lazy and had loose morals, calling them *kale anglez* [black English]. This is symptomatic of the perception of a significant portion of officialdom, which itself is reflected in the inadequacy of official statistics on migration. Whilst adolescent migrants in Udaipur have not reported facing the same level of official hostility noted in West Bengal by Rafique and Rogaly (2003), the contempt of much of government for their activities does not help them to assert their rights.

61 Community member discussion, Ghorimari
62 Community member interview, Ghorimari



8. The Worksite Experience

Though the experience of migrating for work may carry a certain excitement for adolescents and benefit to their households, it also comes fraught with many risks and hardships. Probably the most frequent and severe of these are the myriad of ways in which the employer and/or contractor economically exploit and otherwise ill-treat adolescents, and the risks associated with unsafe sex at the worksite. Although less frequently reported, a few disturbing reports of the sexual abuse of girls at the worksite, and of severe health risks posed by pesticides on the cotton fields and dangerous machinery in the factory, warrant concern. Interviewees and focus group participants stressed the strenuous nature of their work, the hardship of working in the fields in the rain, the difficulty cooking food, bathing, and living in the open, and the eve-teasing that girls face as major problems at the worksite. Yet others mentioned the difficulties posed by the lack of safety in transit to the worksite, insects, and the high cost of health care - though tempered by the appreciation of access to health care that that would not have been possible in their home villages. On the more positive side, adolescents expressed satisfaction that they were earning money and controlling their own earnings, and were thus able to buy personal items and gleaned a sense of pride from their ability to contribute to their households' needs. Adolescents often enjoyed working alongside and living with peers and friends, enjoying a greater measure of independence and seeing new things.

Economic exploitation:

The experience of being cheated out of money is incredibly common for adolescent migrants. Questionnaire responses revealed that wages were withheld from adolescent migrant labourers in 20 cases (12%), and in 43 cases (25%) - 7 of these overlapping with the withheld wages cases - contracts were not honoured. Only in 1 case of withheld wages were they later recovered. Stories such as this adolescent's abounded in focus group discussions and interviews:

*We are taken to Gujarat by the meth. He took us by promising to pay us Rs 35 as wages but after having us do all of the plot work, he only paid us Rs 30. We also had an argument with the meth, but we did not get all of our money.*⁶³

As the *meth* usually acts as an intermediary between the labourers and the *seth*, he has ample opportunity to make off with the labourers' wages - reportedly even conspiring

⁶³ Focus group discussion with adolescent males, Banibor, February 18, 2005.

with the *seth* to do so on occasion. In such cases, adolescent migrants have very little agency to seek redress for such behaviour.

Furthermore, adolescent migrants have very little bargaining power. When we look at the demographic profile of adolescent migrants we surveyed - 96% of them belonging to scheduled castes, young, impoverished, 73% unable to do basic arithmetic, read, or write beyond perhaps signing their name, and with little access to or qualification for other kinds of work - it is little wonder that the *seth* (often a Patel) and *meth* find ample opportunity to exploit them. As noted in the education-related determinants section, migrants without the ability to calculate were exploited more frequently than others. This adolescent's story typifies lack of bargaining power:

Once I did not get paid. I was made to work for 10-15 days, but the *seth* only paid me Rs 200 instead of the Rs 400 I was supposed to get. I talked to the *meth*, but he just did '*talmatol*' [put it off]. Despite asking him 2-4 times, he has not 'till now given me any money. I never asked him again (D11). (Nayakhola)

Testament to this lack of bargaining leverage are the 18% adolescents we surveyed who tried to bargain for more wages, none of whom succeeded in attaining more.

Adolescents also lack knowledge of minimum wage laws, making them more likely to work for whatever wage is offered to them, further weakening their bargaining power. Amongst the adolescents we surveyed, no one knew the minimum wage, and no one guessed. Adolescents and communities may not know the minimum wage, but they are aware that the wages offered them are dismally low, like this parent of an adolescent migrant who explained, "*We get lower wages in Gujarat, but here we don't get work*".⁶⁴ Families feel they lack any other option but to send adolescents for such low-paid labour, as no work is available in their village.

Meths and *seths* have a number of tricks for using advance payments to exploit adolescent labourers. For example, in cases where adolescents migrate after having taken an advance from the *meth*, the adolescents may then be forced to work according to whatever conditions the *meth* and *seth* dictate, until they have repaid their debt. Even if they have not taken any advances in the village, once at the worksite, adolescent migrants receive payment only once the whole season's work has been completed. When an adolescent needs to make a purchase, then, the *meth* or *seth* gives them an advance from their salary. The advance may take the form of cash in-hand, or the *meth* or *seth* may pay out of their own pockets for the adolescent's expense - such as happens when adolescents must go for medical treatment - later deducting the amount from the adolescent's salary. In the questionnaire, 122 adolescents reported that an advance

⁶⁴ Interview, Ghorimari, January 12, 2005.

from the contractor was possible, and 30 had taken advantage of this. 5 reported that an advance from the employer was possible and 2 had taken one.

Although the availability of an advance can be helpful for adolescents, it also complicates their situation. The largely illiterate adolescent migrants - most of whom also cannot perform basic arithmetic functions, are not able to keep any record of the advances they take. The *meth* or the *seth* keep records of these advances and later deduct them from their final payment to the adolescents. Adolescents reported that the *meth* and *seth* could intentionally calculate their total deductions incorrectly and shortchange the adolescents:

I brought back Rs 300. I don't know about the remaining accounts. The meth stole my money. The meth stays in the village, but says that, 'you took an advance from me, and spent it.' I don't know how much money I should have gotten and how much I actually got.⁶⁵

The Amli adolescent who told this story was a 12-year old girl who was quite confused about her wages, but nonetheless doubtful about the *meth's* honesty, left with a vague suspicion of wrongdoing that she was ill-equipped to verify. She was not unlike the bulk of adolescent migrants - only 8 out of 172 kept a record of their payments themselves. Of the 164 that did not keep records, 111 had records kept by the contractor, 8 by the employer and 3 by friends. In 142 cases no records seem to have been kept at all. Only 79 adolescents checked the *meth/seth's* calculations to verify accuracy.

Another opportunity for the *seth* or *meth* to cheat adolescent migrants out of money is by offering the adolescents copious advances to buy *bidi*, *gutkha*, or alcohol. These seemed to be quite popular worksite pastimes amongst adolescents at the worksite, and many a parent blamed migration for introducing their child to such habits. One concerned community member in Nayakhola lamented:

*In 2-3 months the children don't learn anything good, just bad habits - like bidi smoking, chewing gutkha, drinking liquor, and forming romantic relationships. Because there is no control, they are free over there. Girls also learn to chew gutkha. At least 5 out of 10 girls pick up this habit. Small children also pick up these habits after seeing the elder ones.*⁶⁶

A Ghorimari adolescent reported that, "*The seth has a shop from which we buy bidis and gutkha. He keeps writing it in our accounts. Some people spend their entire earnings there*".⁶⁷ This clever *seth* took advantage of adolescents' penchant for tobacco products, probably earning a bit of cash for himself as well as encouraging the habit.

⁶⁵ Interview.

⁶⁶ Interview.

⁶⁷ Focus group discussion with adolescent boys.

Owing to their lack of awareness working hours and overtime legislation, adolescents may work longer than 8 hours - and we have heard cases of up to 15 - without receiving extra pay. Adolescents may do other casual work around the *seth's* house like feeding the cattle, cutting fodder for the cattle, or cleaning the corn. They may receive compensation in-kind - like *chach* or *lassi* - in return, but no money.

If an adolescent migrant finds the work difficult or for any other reason wants to go back to the village, he or she has little opportunity to do so, and no cash in hand to travel back. Adolescents in Banibor explained, "*We have to do all of the plot work. The seth does not let us go anywhere unless all of the work is finished*".⁶⁸ This may be enforced in some cases by *seths* who literally will not let labourers leave the worksite until the seasons' work is finished, or by *seths* who threaten not to pay labourers any wages at all unless they stay the entire term.

One qualification to these sorts of horror stories is that, as adolescents themselves cued us to, young migrants may spend all of their earnings on personal items and then tell tall tales of being economically exploited as a cover-up for their overspending. An Amli man remarked that adolescent boys, "also spend money on giving gifts to the girls, but they don't talk about this at home. They don't tell the truth to their parents". For the most part, though, the cases of economic exploitation of adolescent migrants sound too severe and vivid and are too widespread to be mere stories. It is of great concern, then, that migrants report very few cheating cases to the police. Adolescents may not be aware of how or where to file a complaint. Even if they go to police station to report the case, however, they rarely gain redress through such channels. Community members in Gura recounted:

*One time a meth, having taken the money, had run away. He had conspired with the seth. So the 'manibhai' (sarpanch) reported the matter to the police. When the seth came to the village again to hire labour, the people handed him over to the police. Then the seth gave them Rs 3000, at the rate of each laborer receiving Rs 300. But it was too little. Having given the police some money, the seth escaped and never returned.*⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Focus group discussion with adolescent boys.

⁶⁹ Focus group discussion with community members.



Even when these migrants, who had been cheated out of money, reported the incident to the police with backing from local authority figures, they were only able to get partial and inadequate compensation for the work they had done, and the *seth* was able to bribe the police and escape. Police are often unresponsive to migrant labourers' complaints, and may even exacerbate the problem by further extorting money from them. Hence, migrants are disinclined to even try to take their grievances to the police, and feel quite helpless to take any action to prevent or redress economic exploitation. These Liladi migrants asked:

*How can we file a complaint against these contractors to the police? Because for that also we need money to give as a bribe to the policeman. Even after that, for further action again money (Rs 500/-) is needed. If we had that much with us, why would we go to work?*⁷⁰

Distress migrants - both adolescent and adult - are vulnerable to economic exploitation precisely because of their distress. This vulnerability to exploitation in turn contributes to trapping migrants in the cycle of poverty.

Ill-treatment

Adolescent migrants are not only vulnerable to economic exploitation, but because of their position of distress, lack of awareness and weak bargaining power, to a number of different forms of ill-treatment and abuse. Misbehaviour towards adolescents at the worksite entails verbal as well as physical abuse.. Though a couple of adolescents in focus groups reported that their employer took care of them like his own children, many adolescent questionnaire respondents reported bad behaviour. 83 adolescents reported some sort of misbehaviour - in 13 of these cases perpetrated by the contractor, in 57 the employer (including 1 that was both), and in 18 other labourers. Only 6 cases entailed physical abuse, 75 verbal abuse. Of the 57 girls, 27 reported misbehaviour, 23 reported verbal abuse and only in 1 reported physical abuse. 3 cases were not specified. A roughly equivalent proportion of boys - 56 out of the 115 - reported misbehaviour, and the majority (50) of these again again comprised verbal abuse.

Adolescents who work in *dhodhi bandhane* are assigned a fixed portion of work to cover by the end of the work day, regardless of how many hours it takes. An adolescent migrant explained how, *"We have to work in competition with others. If someone works slowly, the seth scolds at them and tells them to work quickly. He even beats them sometimes. We can't say anything. We are scared of being thrown out"*.⁷¹ Supervisors at the worksite use fear tactics, taking advantage of the adolescents' desperation for any kind of income, to compel adolescents to do more work. This may

70 Focus group discussion with community members.

71 Focus group discussion with adolescent boys, Ghorimari.

be especially stressful for younger adolescents - children, really - who naturally work at a slower pace. Verbal abuse and intimidation meted out by the *seth*, usually himself a Patel, may also have caste dimensions, as these *adivasi* adolescents recounted, "We are called 'vanvasi bandar' [forest monkeys]. He [the *seth*] also ill-treats us".⁷²

More severe ill-treatment of adolescents could take on some uniquely horrifying forms, as these adolescent girls recounted, "*Bad behaviour also occurred there. For four days they locked us inside and wouldn't let us out because our meth had run away with the money*".⁷³ Furthermore, *meths* failed to give families in the village the correct contact information for where the adolescents would be working. A community member in Nayakhola said, "*No one knows which village's children are working in which plot. If the parents want to meet the children, they are not allowed to. The meth never gives the right address*",⁷⁴ and his reflection was confirmed by our own failure to glean accurate, working phone numbers of worksites when we sought this information from a number of community members as part of our research.

Adolescents who attempted to escape abuse and bad circumstances met with further abuse. A Gura adolescent recounted:

So I talked to my friend, who said, 'I have money for the fare, so let's run away.' And so, early in the morning, we ran away. My friend was from a neighbouring village. Afterwards, when the seth found out that we had run away, he chased us in a car. We ran and sat in a jeep and covered our faces with a blanket. We were sitting there, and the seth came to the jeep cursing us, saying, 'if I find them, I'll break their hands and legs'. The meth didn't find out that we had run away. He found out later. We worked there for 5 days, but we didn't get a single rupee. That was the first time I went to Gujarat. I will never go again. There the seth curses us, because of which there is tension in our minds".⁷⁵

The verbal abuse the *seth* inflicted on these adolescent migrants was itself painful enough to compel them to flee the worksite, which in turn brought on more verbal abuse, and even a car chase. One wonders why the *seth* so hotly pursued these boys if they are the ones who are missing out on their wages; nonetheless, the *seth's* behaviour sounds quite atrocious.

Unsafe sex at the worksite

Unsafe sex posed another common risk to adolescents at the worksite. Though such matters are notorious for being under-reported, adolescent questionnaire responses nonetheless yielded 86 out of 172 adolescents who admitted that romantic relationships

72 Focus group discussion with adolescent males, Ghorimari.

73 Focus group discussion with adolescent females, Gura.

74 Interview with a community member.

75 Interview with an adolescent male, Gura.

occur at the worksite, with 13 revealing that they had themselves been involved in such a relationship. 37 adolescents said that adolescents have sex at the worksite, and 15 revealed that they had been involved in a sexual relationship at the worksite. Of these, 5 knew about STIs, only 4 knew about contraceptives, and 1 had actually contracted an STI despite knowing about both STIs and contraceptives (maybe he learned after the fact). Only 22 adolescents in the entire sample knew about STIs. Information about STIs and HIV/AIDs does not appear to be available to villagers or to adolescent migrants from many sources. The only adolescents we met in the course of our interviews and FGDs who knew about HIV/AIDs were the girls in Gura who had attended a Seva Mandir training. Surprisingly, even fewer adolescents - 15 - knew about contraceptives than knew about STIs. A further question may also be in order, in terms of what exactly adolescents know about contraceptives - boys in Amli, for example, did not know about condoms, but knew of an herb that could terminate pregnancy.

Adolescents leave their customary social support network and many of its restrictions when they go the worksite. There, they join groups of other adolescents from other villages and may get involved in sexual relationships with partners at the worksite. Adolescents spoke about this in focus groups, often mentioning the contingency plans for pregnancy, as this adolescent did, saying, *"People even get into relationships out there. They get abortions done if there is a pregnancy."*⁷⁶ The fact that the risk of pregnancy comes into the picture here is another indicator that adolescents do engage in unsafe sex at the worksite. A community member in Shyampura even outright assured us that *"sexual relations are totally unprotected" at the worksite.*⁷⁷ Adolescents may also have multiple partners, like this boy who revealed, *"I had sex with 5 girls. Once with each of them. I had sex during the day in the cotton field"*.⁷⁸ If an adolescent were to carry an STI, or HIV/AIDs to the worksite, it could quite possibly spread very quickly. Adolescents also tend to change worksites each year and thus:

*"We go to a different place to work every year, and hence meet different people, so we have relationships with different people every time. If we feel like having a sexual relationship, then somehow we find a way to have one."*⁷⁹

Aside from the STI risk, unsafe sex carries with it the risk of pregnancy, precipitating abortion. Undertaking an abortion may itself be a risk, as adolescents reported that their friends at the worksite have abortions done without their family's knowledge, and this leaves the question of what quality of abortion these adolescent migrants could afford on their Rs 35/day salary. Then, if an adolescent girl's family does find out about her pregnancy, this may also pose danger to the girl. In a rather shocking case, one

76 Interview with an adolescent male, Banibor.

77 Interview.

78 Focus group discussion with adolescent males, Amli.

79 Interview with an adolescent female, Gura.

adolescent girl in Shyampura died after her family attempted to abort her baby by beating her with their fists.

Severe health risks

A few reports of severe dangers adolescent migrants face at their worksites arose in focus group discussions and interviews. These included the sexual abuse of girls, and the health hazards posed by chemical pesticides, the factory environment and machinery. Community members and an adolescent boy - but not adolescent girls themselves - acknowledged that girls are sometimes subject to sexual abuse and exploitation at the worksite, though no one mentioned such matters in the questionnaires. A contractor in Madla candidly admitted that, "Farmholders and the farmholders' relatives can sexually abuse the kids" at the cotton fields in Gujarat where they work. Likewise, a male adolescent migrant described how, *"Sometimes even the seth and his relatives also form relationships with the girls, and the girls cannot refuse as they have to take wages from them"*.⁸⁰ By far the most dramatic account was from this Nayakhola woman who lamented:

*Only God is responsible for the children once they are out there. There is no safety there. The seth took one of the girls from here to his home, and kept her as a prisoner for 2 years, and exploited her sexually. She was a 15 year old girl, from Patia village. Then about 2 years later, she ran away and came back to her village. The meth sold the girl for about Rs 10,000 to the seth.*⁸¹

We thus have evidence that girls, and possibly boys, face sexual abuse at the worksite, but further investigation will have to be made to determine its prevalence.

Adolescents also face health problems caused by the pesticides sprayed in the cotton fields. A community member in Nayakhola reported that, "they spray pesticide on the vegetables" at the worksite, and, *"They inject the eggplant with pesticide. The laborers take the vegetables and sometimes these vegetables are the cause of their death"*.⁸² Thus pesticides can be quite dangerous, whether ingested through food, or inhaled by labourers who are unaware of how to protect themselves from the fumes, such as these Khedaghati adolescents. A community member there recounted how:

*This time, two of the children even died from either choking on the fumes or from accidental intake of the pesticide. They leave the bodies in the village at night. They get the post-mortems done in Gujarat itself. We are not able to say much because, after all, we have to do wage labor in Gujarat. Moreover, the seths are more powerful financially. The people who died did not get any kind of compensation.*⁸³

80 Interview, Liladi.

81 Interview.

82 Focus group discussion.

83 Focus group discussion with community members.

Owing once again to the power balance and to distress conditions, villagers may not receive proper compensation in the event of an illness or death of an adolescent migrant due to worksite hazards.

Whereas cotton fields presented pesticide-related dangers, factories brought dangers of another kind. The main risks in factories were the cotton dust and the machinery. When we visited a Gujarat cotton factory we saw firsthand how thickly the air is laden with cotton fibres. Cotton coated the ceiling and walls of the factory, dancing about in long strands clinging to any fans in the factory, as well. If cotton clings so thickly to walls of the factory, then one can only imagine how it penetrates and interferes with one's respiratory system. Machines in the factory can also be dangerous and require the adolescents to be vigilant. This is especially difficult if the adolescents have to work night shifts. A Madla contractor revealed that, "You have to work late – accidents and death happen because of drowsiness – in the factories, people sometimes fall on the machines. Kids 10-12 years old sometimes work on the machines", and community members in a focus group discussion in Som also mentioned that the contractor beats labourers who start falling asleep over the factory machinery during their night shift. Such stories of worksite hazards were rare but so severe that they warrant attention.

Accommodation

Of more common concern were hardships that arose from the accommodations for adolescents at the worksite. The type of accommodations in which adolescents were housed at the worksite varied widely across the sample, from *pakka* rooms to sleeping in

Table 37 : Accommodation at the worksite

Respondents	Accommodation the cold and rain	Protection from
5	Not Given	No
3	Not Given	Yes
10	Open	No
11	Other	No
5	Other	Yes
6	Rented	Yes
25	Room	No
97	Room	Yes
1	Room and Other	Yes
1	Room and Rented	No
3	Room and Rented	Yes
4	Room and Street	No
1	Street	No

Most of our respondents had access to drinking water and tube wells at their place of accommodation - 87% and 84%, respectively. Only 33% had access to bathrooms, and 17% to toilets, both of which compare favourably to the proportion of households in the villages we visited which had bathrooms or toilets. The absence of a toilet or bathroom, however, could present much more serious problems at worksites where,



unlike the village, the landscape is mainly flat with very little unexposed and unpopulated areas nearby in which to bathe or to answer nature's call. Girls, especially, complained of inadequate bathing facilities. Girls are at more risk than boys for censure or teasing if they are exposed while bathing, and the difficulty of their task of finding a hidden place and time in which to bathe is intensified by boys who intentionally try to seek them out, and the added restrictions on girls' movement that make it harder for them to wander far from the worksite. Girls in the Shyampura focus group expressed that, "[at the worksite] bathing and all is in the open. We are afraid while bathing. We bathe at night. 5-6 girls bathe together".⁸⁴ More than a physical hardship, then, the lack of adequate bathing facilities is, for girls, a kind of psychological strain. Their apprehensions, it seems, are not so unfounded, as boys themselves have admitted, "We secretly watch girls bathing. Maze lete hain [We have fun]".⁸⁵ Here, it seems, the lack of bathing facilities at the worksite spells fun for boys and fear for girls.

The ravages of rain:

As a father of an adolescent migrant explained, "Because of the rain they [the migrants] had to face problems with eating and drinking, sleeping and living".⁸⁶ All manner of worksite living arrangements that function adequately most of the year can become problematic for migrants in the rainy season. But it is precisely the rainy season - though towards the end of it - that is the high season for adolescents to migrate to the cotton fields of Gujarat, rendering these adolescents vulnerable to a variety of rain-induced hardships. Whatever comfort cramped or *kachha* housing arrangements may have provided deteriorates quickly in the rain. Speaking of adolescent migrants, a community member

⁸⁴ January 17, 2005.

⁸⁵ Focus group discussion with adolescent males, Amli, February 8, 2005.

⁸⁶ Interview with community member, Shyampura, January 17, 2005.

in Amlī explained:

In the rain, they put up tents for living. Mostly they go after rakhi. In the rain, the tents are filled with water and because of this they have to face several problems. Many times, you even feel cold in the rain. You even fall ill.⁸⁷

Rain, according to this community member, brings on cold-related suffering and even illness. For an adolescent migrant in Banībor, rain at the worksite meant sitting up all night, suffering sleep deprivation:

There is a dhaba⁸⁸ to live in. We sleep on the roof of the dhaba while the girls sleep inside. During the rains, we have to keep sitting for the entire night, as the dhaba is very small.⁸⁹

A group of adolescent migrants from Nayākhola had to stay under a tarp in the rain at the worksite, which one could also imagine would not have been comfortable.⁹⁰

The rain does not just present housing hardships, but also complicates the process of cooking food. As one adolescent migrant lamented, *"There we have to cook food. Some times during rain, we are not able to cook and have to sleep without food".⁹¹* As migrants at the worksite often cook in the open, using wood as fuel for the cooking fire, rain means wet wood, and difficulty lighting a fire. This could mean half-cooked *roti*, or, as the aforementioned adolescent described, no food at all.

Rainy weather added insult to injury in terms of the difficulty and discomfort of the worksite. If adolescents complained of the rigor of the work at their destination without rain, they doubly lamented their task of undertaking such work in rainy weather. Community members mentioned the hardship of working in the rain alongside the beating of child labourers as major problems at the worksite. A community member in Nayākhola recounted, *"One faces more problems there. Here, we have our home, our people, and our village, and hence less problems. There, young children are beaten. They are made to work at 5am, even in the rain".⁹²* The community member ranks working in the rain in the early hours of the morning as evidence that adolescent migrants face more problems at the worksite than in the village, implying that this kind of work is not analogous to what the adolescent would be doing at home. Part of the reason work in the rain is so difficult is the discomfort, and part, as evinced by one adolescent's statement, is that it precipitates illness. She explained, *"We had to work in the rain and many times we used to fall sick. We had to work in the muddy water, in the rain".⁹³* But

87 Focus group discussion with community members, February 8, 2005.

88 A small, often divey, restaurant.

89 Focus group discussion with adolescent males, February 18, 2005.

90 Focus group discussion with community members, January 7, 2005.

91 Interview with adolescent male, Nayākhola, January 7, 2005.

92 Interview, January 7, 2005.

93 Focus group discussion with adolescent females, Gura, January 25, 2005.

the most plausible explanation for what makes working in a rainy cotton field in Gujarat so different from cultivating the fields in one's village during the monsoons, lay in the power dynamic between the labourer and employer. An adolescent in Gura recounted this experience of working in the rain:

They also make us work in the rain. I rebelled against this. We all said that we would not work in the rain. The *meth* complained to the *seth* about this. About this, the *seth*'s older brother said, '*Shut up and work otherwise I'll get the police to pick you up*'. So we were scared that we were in a different and unknown village, and the *seth* can even beat us. Hence, out of fear, we had to work in the rain.⁹⁴

Likewise, another migrant explained:

*The work is very tough. We have to wake up at 3am and we have to keep standing in the mud. ...We have to work in competition with others. If someone works slowly, the seth scolds at them and tells them to work quickly. He even beats them sometimes. We can't say anything. We are scared of being thrown out.*⁹⁵

The *seth* and family may take advantage of their privileged position in relation to the police, or capitalise on the adolescents' lack of bargaining power because they are away from their villages and social support networks, and desperate for work. Thus, working in the rain was not a choice for these adolescents, but a compulsion. They were forced to work by way of the *seth*'s fear tactics, to the beat of his *lathi*. For an adolescent, working in the rain in such circumstances is one more token of the indignity of their condition, making the rain that much colder, the work that much harder. This is back-breaking work done without the pride and ownership one might feel towards cultivating one's own field. By the same token, it is certainly not universal that adolescents must work in the rain; adolescents in the Shyampura focus group relayed, "*We don't have to work in the rain, and we still get the payment for that day*".⁹⁶ The caveat here is that some *seths* and some worksites are more humane than others.

Teasing and sexual harassment of girls

Although girls undoubtedly face teasing, which we will here term sexual harassment, in their home villages, we nonetheless have reason to be concerned about its presence at the worksite. Both males and females in focus groups and interviews recounted such statements as, "*The teasing of girls is ongoing*"⁹⁷, and "*The seth and the meth also keep teasing the girls*"⁹⁸. Girls at the worksite face sexual harassment from other labourers, the *meth* and the *seth*. 47% of girls reported on the questionnaire that someone at the worksite - either the *seth* or *meth*, or another person - "misbehaved" towards them.

94 Interview with adolescent male, January 25, 2005.

95 Focus group discussion with adolescent males, Ghorl Mari, January 12, 2005.

96 January 17, 2005.

97 Adolescent male focus group discussion, Banilbor, February 18, 2005.

98 Adolescent male focus group discussion, Amli, February 8, 2005.

85% of these cases were cited as being verbal abuse. Boys also reported, in 49% of cases, having faced some kind of "misbehaviour" at the worksite, also in the form of verbal abuse in 89% of cases. Though the proportions of girls and boys who reported verbal abuse are nearly equal, one wonders how much variation exists in the type of verbal abuse faced by girls and boys, respectively, and whether girls reported teasing - a kind of verbal abuse hued with sexual innuendo - as "verbal abuse".

Certainly, the issue of teasing arose as significant for girls, and not boys, in focus group discussions and interviews. We can surmise that the teasing girls face away from their home and village social support networks probably intensifies, but it does seem to help when some small piece of the social support network - a brother - is present at the worksite. Girls in Shyampura reported:

...our brother is here, due to which we are secure. Our brother looks after everything. No one teases or bothers us in the brother's presence....They tease us, so we show them our sandals, and we complain to our brother. Then he scolds them. Sometimes the meth also bothers us. The seth bothered one of the girls who was with us. It was the son of the head seth. Then my brother shouted at him....To the younger girls, we explain, whenever some boy teases you, tell us, or tell your brother.⁹⁹

One brother, however, apparently did not feel himself equipped to shelter his sister from the teasing at the worksite. He explained, *"I will not take her along to Gujarat to do wage labour because the girls are teased there. Many times, the girls even run away from there".¹⁰⁰* This adolescent felt the severity of the teasing was of such concern that the only solution was for a girl like his sister not to go at all. Indeed, if girls are running away from the worksite, whatever sexual harassment and teasing they face must be quite severe, causing them a significant amount of trauma and pain.

Strenuous work, long hours and insects

Adolescents and the families report these three problems that are not of immediate or over-riding concern to them but which nevertheless merit mention because they contribute to the dangers of migrating and the difficulties that many adolescents have to contend with. The work undertaken by adolescent migrants varied but male and female adolescents in different jobs and community members commented on the strenuous nature of their work. This must be seen, to some extent, as a normal response to working, but nonetheless their emphasis on the issue is important because it represents a significant contrast in their minds with their (often quite strenuous) lives at home. These comments are typical:

⁹⁹ Adolescent female focus group discussion, Shyampura, January 17, 2005.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with adolescent male, Banibor, February 18, 2005.

*Had to wake up at 4am. We got a break at 12pm, then we had to work again from 3pm until sunset...The work was very tiring.*¹⁰¹

*The work is very tough.*¹⁰²

*There, you have to work day and night....There, when the electricity comes, we have to irrigate the fields, day or night. If we don't wake up during the night, the Patel yells at us, saying, 'Why do you sleep at night? Why don't you irrigate the land?'*¹⁰³

*[I] got back pain from the factory work.*¹⁰⁴

*Dhodhi bandhane and working in a factory, both jobs are hard work, the same in this manner. At the plot we had to work for 10-11 hours.*¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, questionnaire data indicate that strenuous work was not considered by most adolescents to be a significant problem, ranked on average as less significant than missing one's home village and family, receiving insufficient pay, living in poor conditions, and disliking the work. Moreover, only 7 out of 172 adolescents surveyed reported work-related pain.

The problems that existed were exacerbated when adolescents worked in the rain, as these comments indicate:

*The work is very tough. We have to wake up at 3am and we have to keep standing in the mud.*¹⁰⁶

*We had to work in the rain and many times we used to fall sick. We had to work in the muddy water, in the rain.*¹⁰⁷

There is a higher likelihood of contracting various diseases in the rainy season when forced to work or stand in the rain, notably malaria and respiratory diseases. In addition to these problems, "during the rainy season, there is always a fear of being bitten by some poisonous insects."¹⁰⁸

Indeed, the problem of insects is not restricted to the rainy season, because "there is always a fear of being bitten by insects, etc., while working at night."¹⁰⁹ Since a major concern with insects is that "the mosquitos bite out there,"¹¹⁰ the risks of malaria should

101 Adolescent girl interview, Upli Suberi

102 Adolescent boys focus group discussion, Ghorimari

103 Community member interview, Aamli

104 Adolescent girl interview, Leelri

105 Adolescent boy interview, Khedbrahma

106 Adolescent boys focus group discussion, Ghorimari

107 Adolescent girls focus group discussion, Gura

108 Community members focus group discussion, Banibor

109 Adolescent boy interview, Khedaghatl

110 Community member interview, Leelri

not be ignored. As the section on health shows, fevers were the most common health risk, and there is likely to be some connection between them and the working conditions and abundance of insects.

Moreover, it is relevant to consider the longer-term effects of long hours of strenuous work on adolescents. It is apparent from these interviews and questionnaire data that show the average working day to be around 9 hours but that typically adolescents “used to work from 3am to 10am, and then from 3pm until sunset.”¹¹¹ The legally enforceable part III section 7 of the Indian Constitution stipulates that for children (below the age of 14) no work period should exceed 3 hours and that no child should be permitted to work between 7pm and 8am. The regulations are in place because of the damage that this sort of work can do to children and adolescents. Indeed, migrants themselves have noticed this problem:

Migrant: We have to go out to work. I am 21 years old.

Interviewer: But you don't look like a 21 year old.

*Migrant: We are labourers. We have to work hard from a young age [10], so our body does not develop properly, so we look small.*¹¹²

Health care

The working conditions may have contributed to the ill-health of a number of adolescents. 24% of sampled adolescents received medical help during the period of their migration (representing 82% of those who claimed to have health problems at the worksite), and in 95% of cases adolescents paid for their own health-care. As a *seth* specified: “Children sometimes fall ill, and we take them to the doctor and pay for it, but deduct this from their wages.”¹¹³ This deduction contravenes the legal right of inter-state migrant workers to free health care for the duration of their employment.¹¹⁴

On the one hand, the high rate of health-seeking is encouraging. Although a community members focus group discussion in Gura suggested that only “if the *seth* is good, then he will take you for treatment,” generally the consensus was that “they take us to the doctor when we are ill.”¹¹⁵ Moreover, medical facilities in Gujarat are of a higher quality than those in Udaipur District, where according to a recent detailed health facility survey “the quality of public service is abysmal” and 82% of private doctors have no medical training whatsoever.¹¹⁶ It is therefore likely that in terms of treatment quality the adolescents who fell ill in Gujarat probably benefited from being there rather than at

111 Adolescent boy interview, Upli Suberi

112 Community members focus group discussion, Leelri

113 Seth interview, Vadoth village, Gujarat

114 Enshrined in The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Central Rules, 1980, Chapter V, Rule 37)

115 Adolescent boys focus group discussion, Upli Subri

116 Banerjee, Deaton, Duflo (2004): *Health Care Delivery in Rural Rajasthan*. Economic and Political Weekly.

home.

On the other hand, however, the costs of health care are high. The average cost of health care for those that received it was Rs 243. This represents over 6 days wages for most adolescent migrants and is thus a reasonable part of their earnings when the average time worked is 76 days. The owners and contractors may often have used health care spending as a method of exploiting adolescents financially because it was usual that *"the seth did buy me medicine, but later on, deducted it from my wages."*¹¹⁷ Since less than 30% of sampled adolescents claimed that they could perform basic calculations, it seems not unlikely that the seth overcharged for health care.

Transport

The normal way of getting to migration worksites is that *"they take us in a jeep and the one way fare is Rs 50, which is later on deducted from our wages."*¹¹⁸ Although 65% of adolescents reported that they faced no problems on their journey to the worksite, 31% of adolescents reported discomfort. This is probably because very often *"they take 20-25 people in a jeep"*¹¹⁹ which *"has space for 12."*¹²⁰ Sometimes *"the meth takes 30-40 labourers from here at one time. Young children are stuffed inside and the older ones hang on the edges. We go to Idar. The entire way, we have to keep hanging on."*¹²¹ Other adolescents are less concerned because only *"15 of us went together in a jeep. 15 passengers can easily sit in the jeep. We used to seat the younger children in the middle."*¹²² Moreover, some authorities are alert to this illegal practice and so *"they don't take many passengers in one jeep because the police in Palanpur fines them."*¹²³

Despite the small size of some of the passengers and the vigilance of the police in certain areas, community members raised the issue of transport safety in interviews because *"there is also a possibility of getting in an accident,"*¹²⁴ when for example *"they also go holding on to the outside of the jeep. One time a boy fell from the jeep and broke his leg."*¹²⁵ Although this may not be a frequent occurrence, and journeys usually don't present the problems detailed in Rafique and Rogaly's (2003) study of West Bengal, where migrants have to gather at transport hubs and suffer harassment and violence at the hands of authorities and citizens, it might serve as a reminder that adolescent migrants face a variety of difficulties throughout their migration that they are not effectively protected against or prepared for.

117 Adolescent girl interview, Aamli

118 Adolescent girl interview, Aamli

119 Adolescent boys focus group discussion, Ghorimari

120 Community members focus group discussion, Aamli

121 Adolescent boy interview, Ghorimari

122 Adolescent boy interview, Nayakhola

123 Adolescent boy interview, Banibor

124 Female community members focus group discussion, Ghorimari

125 Community members focus group discussion, Nayakhola

The silver lining

Although it is easy to emphasise negative aspects of the migration experience, many adolescents migrate of their own volition, do enjoy themselves and find a space to pursue individual development and move towards adulthood in a number of ways. Their families, on the other hand, gain from and in many cases rely on their remittances, and despite their protestations of the dangers, often encourage and rarely actively prevent their migration. This section will explore the positive experiences of adolescent migrants. We will try to show how some of the activities that we have categorised as risky are, for adolescents, excitements and challenges from which they learn and which they often enjoy.

Financial autonomy

A powerful motivation in the decision of many adolescents to migrate is the possibility of controlling their spending. This prospect is facilitated by migration because it provides adolescents with an income and access to a market for consumer goods and services on which to spend it (as explored in the social and psychological determinants section). Moreover, although understandably not emphasised by adolescents or their families, the exercise of financial autonomy is an important progression towards maturity and adulthood.

Only 16% of adolescents reported that they spent on themselves at an average of Rs 164, and 32% reported that they spent on clothes at an average of Rs 214. Spending amounts represent only a small fraction of their wages (5.17% for self-spenders and 4.65% for spenders on clothes), but it is arguable that the exercise of spending power is as important for autonomy as the quantity spent. Moreover, these numbers may well be under-reported through a reluctance to admit to selfish spending. This contention is supported by the low levels of specification of the purchased items - 26 out of 38 self-spenders did not say what they spent on - and by the interviews in which tales of spending often featured. Typical of these is this description by adolescent girls in Shyampura:

She spent Rs 500 on herself. She bought clothes for herself. Another girl bought clothes, oil, soap, etc. She bought cosmetics ['nakra karne ka saman']. Another bought sandals and clothes.

The exercise of spending power depends both on earnings and spending possibilities. All migration offers both opportunities but the migration destination plays an important role in determining the extent of both. 67% of sampled adolescent migrants worked in rural Gujarat engaged in *dhodhi bandhane*. Their spending compares interestingly to total spending :

Table 38 : Adolescent spending - all and dhodhi bandhane

All adolescents (172)	Average/ person	Average/ day	%age of wages	%age of remittances
Food (167)	742	9.5	23	31
Health (32)	243	2.4	5.6	7.7
Rent (24)	530	4.3	9.7	12.4
Self (38)	164	2.0	5.2	7.3
Clothes (55)	214	2.1	4.7	6.1
Remittances (166)	2461	31.9	78.6	-
Wages (172)	2963	40.6	-	-
Migrating days	76.5	-	-	-
Dhodhi bandhane (118)	Average/ person	Average/ day	%age of wages	%age of remittances
Food (117)	501	9.1	25	34
Health (19)	117	2.0	5.7	8
Rent (12)	111	2.2	6.5	7.7
Self (28)	87.9	1.6	4.6	7.6
Clothes (27)	175	3.1	8.6	11.3
Remittances (116)	1498	27.2	76.4	-
Wages (118)	1966	35.7	-	-
Migrating days	55	-	-	-

These tables give the spending data for those adolescents that spent on the item. Thus the average spending for health is calculated from an average of only the 32 adolescents that spent on health.

Average/person amongst *dhodhi bandhane* workers is below that for all adolescents for every category of spending and for remitting. This can be largely traced to much lower average wages and shorter time spent migrating, because as a percentage of wages the averages differ little aside from a higher percentage spend on clothes and a lower percentage spend on rent. The latter is understandable since accommodation for *dhodhi bandhane* workers is usually provided. The former may well be related to the cost of clothes and the desire to impress members of the opposite sex at the worksite.

The spending opportunities in rural Gujarat are limited by transport opportunities and the rural location not dissimilar to source villages. Nevertheless, 23% of adolescents doing *dhodhi bandhane* reported spending on clothes and 24% on themselves, most likely in local towns such as Idar and Palimpur. It is important not to over-emphasise, however, the spending habits of adolescents: nearly 80% of wages is remitted to their families.

Independence

Financial autonomy is closely bound up with a more general sense of independence that is attractive to and arguably has some benefits for adolescents. Independence is seen

as a powerful force: *"Going to work does change the adolescents. They roam around with friends, make new friends, live freely there. Changes take place in their lifestyle and eating habits and all."*¹²⁶ This is easily seen as a reason why adolescents migrate or as a danger because *"along with independence, my friends also kept taking gutkha, so I also got into the habit."*¹²⁷ Community members tend to focus on these negative aspects of independence:

In 2-3 months the children don't learn anything good, just bad habits - like bidi smoking, chewing gutkha, drinking liquor, and forming romantic relationships. Because there is no ankush [control], they are free over there. Girls also learn to chew gutkha. At least 5 out of 10 girls pick up this habit. Small children also pick up these habits after seeing the elder ones.

However, it remains likely that greater independence has some beneficial effects on adolescents and on their potential development. Furthermore, adolescents are positive about independence because it allows them to engage in pursuits that are often more restricted or for which there is less time at home, such as having relationships, spending time with their friends, spending, and seeing new things and learning new habits.

Relationships

Physical relationships feature prominently in many adolescents' accounts of their migration. 50% of the surveyed sample reported that adolescents had boyfriends or girlfriends at their worksite, and 22% reported that sexual relationships occurred. Less than 10% of the sample admitted to having sexual relationships themselves, but interviews suggested that *"They even get into physical/sexual relationships. There is no body to check them or say anything to them. There are all kinds of restrictions/taboos when they are at home"*¹²⁸

There are undoubtedly significant dangers about these relationships, primarily because "most of these sexual relationships are unsafe" and therefore abortions are not uncommon and there is a high risk of contracting STIs.¹²⁹ These concerns have been explored above. On the other hand, however, it is important to note that only one adolescent in the sample who admitted having a relationship was not in the highest age category (16-18). Moreover, relationships between adolescents appear to be almost exclusively consensual and quite often caring and can be seen as an entirely natural expression of desire. This account from an adolescent girl in Gura is typical:

Boys and girls from many villages come there, and hence get into [romantic] relationships.

126 Community member focus group discussion, Nayakhola

127 Adolescent boy interview, Khedaghati

128 Community members focus group discussion, Aamli

129 Adolescent boy interview, Khedaghati

If there is a fight, the *seth* scolds us. Boys used to wink at girls. There is nobody to tell us what to do there, hence because of the independence, people often get into physical/sexual relationships.

*My brother and sister were also along with me. Hence I was afraid of my brother. He used to beat me and I often wanted to make friends with the other boys, but I was scared. I also had a friend and got into a physical/sexual relationship with him. He gave me bangles as a gift. Everyone does it there. I got into this relationship out of my own will. Nobody forces anybody. There is teasing, but physical/sexual relationships are only consensual. No one forces you. The children younger than us are observing us, but we do it in secret. We look for a place in the field to have a physical/sexual relationship - either under the cotton plants, or somewhere else. We go to a different place to work every year, and hence meet different people, so we have relationships with different people every time. If we feel like having a physical/sexual relationship, then somehow we find a way to have one.*¹³⁰

There are a couple of elements of this account which deserve brief comment here. She notes that relationships are consensual. This stands in some contrast with the usual pattern of relationships determined exclusively by relatives, and indeed she was afraid of what her brother would say or do. There is also a strong sense that having a relationship is a powerful expression of autonomy and independence that may rarely be possible at other times: if we feel like having a relationship, then we have one. From the point of view of adolescents, having relationships is not only an expression of desire and a way of making new friends but also an assertion of one's independence from the restrictions at home.

Spending time with friends

A reason for migrating commonly cited by both adolescents and community members is the desire to spend time with friends.

By working and living together, this is something that undoubtedly happens. 91% of adolescents reported that they lived with their group. Moreover, since many adolescents leave the villages to migrate, it is often not possible to spend time with friends in villages because they simply are not there: "I just went of my own will. Everyone went, so I also went along."¹³¹ Having one's friends around

¹³⁰ Adolescent girl interview, Gura

¹³¹ Adolescent girls focus group discussion, Shyampura



and having the space in which to interact with them are important parts of the fun that adolescents derive from migrating. "Money is essential and along with that, I also go to have fun with my friends."¹³² This ability derives somewhat from the increased independence at the worksite: "Young boys and girls stay there with independence and make friends."¹³³

The connection between independence and relationships is reinforced because "the main basis of making a friendship is by offering *gutkha* and tobacco," and it is easier to acquire *gutkha* and tobacco away from the village. Indeed, it is interesting that the use of *gutkha* to build friendships and relationships is so universally acknowledged and is suggestive both of the dual expression of rebellion in forming relationships and engaging in a habit that may be frowned upon by their parents and teachers, and of the link between perceptions of maturity and spending power. The ability to spend is not simply of personal satisfaction but has a social role in developing friendships.

Seeing new things

Migrants have always witnessed new things and been instrumental in bringing back that knowledge as they travel. Adolescent migrants certainly experience different environments and a community member noted that "after migrating, [her daughter] came to understand Hindi, and became more open in talking to outsiders."¹³⁴ They have also brought back new knowledge. "Earlier, we did not play *garba* in our village. They have also learned this from Gujarat. They also learn to keep clean and some new agricultural techniques from Gujarat."¹³⁵ Although the acquisition and remittance of scientific and linguistic knowledge is an important contribution of many migrants to their home communities, and has been emphasised in various studies, it should not be over-stated here. More important, however, are the benefits of new experiences for adolescent migrants themselves. The long-term effects of these experiences are not assessed by this study and would repay investigation, but are likely to include a greater openness to new ideas, confidence in strange environments, and social flexibility.

Improving on bad habits

Whilst many community members emphasise the bad habits that adolescents learn, some also note that they improve on bad habits. Most commonly this bad habit is alcohol, and improving on it is largely because of the comparative difficulty of buying it in the dry state of Gujarat to which most adolescents migrate. In some cases the authorities are vigilant in maintaining prohibition:

We don't drink daru there. It is banned in Gujarat. For this reason, when we go there,

¹³² Adolescent girl interview, Aamli

¹³³ Community member focus group discussion, Aamli

¹³⁴ Community member interview, Leelri

¹³⁵ Community member focus group discussion, Khedaghati

*the police search us for daru and marijuana, to see whether we have hidden it somewhere. Our entire luggage is checked. They open our bags and suitcases and check.*¹³⁶

65% of surveyed adolescents who offered an opinion (97) stated that more alcohol was consumed in their village than at the worksite. 20% stated that others drank at the worksite, and only 2% confessed to drinking themselves. These figures are probably under-reported, but the comment of this adolescent male in Nayakhola is instructive: "There my friends drink less alcohol. They drink more while in the village. They do not get the time there. They have to work. Here they're independent." This is an interesting reversal of the more usual remarks made about independence. One way to understand it is to note that here independence seems to be synonymous with not having work. Typically, on the other hand, independence connotes a freedom from being dependent on something, and for many adolescent migrants this freedom comes in part from the earnings from their own work. Nonetheless, in this example the pressures of work, whilst they may enable spending, prevent alcohol consumption.

¹³⁶ Adolescent girls focus group discussion, Shyampura

9. Impacts of Adolescent Migration

There are various impacts of adolescent migration on adolescents, on their households, and on their communities. Some of these have been covered in the section on worksite experience and will not be repeated here. It is no simple task to separated impacts from determinants and experiences because migration is a continuous, and in many cases self-reinforcing, phenomenon. Nevertheless, we have here identified two broad and important areas of impacts, economic and education-related.

1. Economic impacts of adolescent migration

The economic impacts of adolescent migration are difficult to assess because household incomes are not clearly divided into sectors - so that the uses of adolescent migrants' remittances specifically cannot easily be identified - and because this is not a longitudinal study that can separate the before/after wealth position of households. Nevertheless, it is possible to examine the reported uses of adolescents' remittances, to show the proportion of household incomes that adolescents' remittances constitute, and to detail the reported sources of funding for consumption of specific items. The indications are that adolescents' remittances are largely used for food consumption, and that adolescent migrant households generally rely fairly heavily on the income derived from adolescent migration.

Remittance use

Table 41 shows adolescents' reports of the uses of their remittances.

Table 39 : Remittance use

Remittance use	% of respondents
Food grains	78.5
Other	45.3
Not given	15.1

In most cases adolescents' reported that their remittances were used for food grains. For nearly half the surveyed adolescents, however, their remittances were used for 'other' purposes, which included (where specified) festivals, health care, or spending on items such as jewellery. Some of these seem to meet a direct need - such as health expenses - but others are conspicuous consumption. There is no evidence from these adolescents that their remittances were invested productively, and therefore it is not clear that this adolescent migration is accumulative or a strategy for households to move out of poverty.

Importance of adolescent remittances

Despite this, adolescent remittances represent significant proportions of total income for many households. For each group (containing adolescent migrants (3), adolescent non-migrants (2), and no adolescents (1)), we can break down the average contribution of each income source to total economic output. This table includes households who didn't earn any income from a particular source:

Table 40 : % contribution of income sources to total economic output

Group	Barren land	Loan	Livestock	<i>Kharif</i> earnings	<i>Rabi</i>	Non-farm	Migration remittance	Adolescent remittance
1		8.4	2.2	15.6	9.5	64.4	18.6	-
2	0.0	9.9	2.1	12.2	9.1	66.7	22.5	-
3	0.0	5.5	1.9	11.1	7.3	74.2	42.4	21.1

Non-farm earnings include earnings from migration, and here migration remittance and adolescent migration remittance are given separately as a percentage of total economic output. Migration is clearly more significant for group 3, largely because of the contribution of adolescent remittances. Striking about this table is the very low relative value of household production compared to non-farm earnings. Although many households own livestock, very few actually earn significant income from them. (This table excludes the value of livestock produce used for domestic consumption, because it is not possible to calculate this from our data, but the income-earning component of livestock produce sales has been included).

The following table shows the average contribution of each area for households who actually earned from each area (household with 0 values for that column are excluded):

Table 41 : % contribution of sources for households that used them

Group	Loan	Livestock	<i>Kharif</i>	<i>Rabi</i>	Non-farm earnings	Migration remittance	Adolescent migration remittance
1 (63)	25.5 (15)	16.5 (16)	19.3 (62)	17.3 (43)	62.9 (59)	47.9 (26)	-
2 (59)	16.1 (9)	9.7 (26)	17.7 (58)	12.6 (47)	66.9 (58)	41.8 (33)	-
3 (171)	21.9 (32)	8.8 (51)	13.9 (169)	12.2 (124)	71.1 (170)	44.2 (167)	23.8 (162)

All households gain a roughly equal benefit from migration and non-farm earnings if they engage in them, although for group 3 households adolescents provide roughly half their migration earnings, 23.8% of households' total economic output. This is an obviously important contribution to households' income. Adolescents on average remit nearly

Rs 4000, which exceeds the average food deficit. If nothing else, therefore, in many cases their migration has the capacity to maintain the household food consumption.

Spending

We can also examine the proportion of funding sources that migrant incomes constitute for different categories of spending. Table 44 shows the percentage of all spending instances funded from different sources for the three groups:

Table 42 : Households' funding sources

Group	HH	% Migrant fund	% Agr sale fund	% Asset sale fund	% Other wage fund	% Loan fund	% Advance fund	%Other fund
1	63	52.6	23.5	7.1	0.3	1.8	0.3	25.7
2	59	49.0	22.2	11.1	1.0	1.1	0.3	24.9
3	171	67.7	18.1	5.8	0.7	1.7	7.3	14.5

Households with adolescent migrants fund significantly more of their spending with income from migrant (adult and adolescent) sources, and significantly less with income from the sale of agricultural produce or assets. This becomes more important when we examine the items that each group tends to spend on.

Table 43 : Households' spending items

Group	HH	% food spend	% fuel spend	% agriculture spend	% PTI spend	% education spend
1	62	37.14	6.83	4.96	6.94	2.44
2	58	37.06	7.06	5.80	6.63	3.64
3	170	41.97	5.51	3.51	6.38	2.96
Group	% clothing and footwear spend		%travel spend	% social expenses spend	%seeds spend	% health spend
1	13.93		5.15	9.60	6.43	16.47
2	14.45		4.61	8.04	6.61	12.35
3	14.94		5.16	8.73	3.29	14.88

The spending patterns are relatively similar across groups. However, a higher proportion of adolescent migrants' households spending is on food and a lower proportion is on agricultural inputs and seeds, perhaps reflecting their small landholdings, large families, and general poverty. Adolescent migrant households also spend a lower proportion on education than adolescent non-migrant households, reflecting the fact that children away from home do not spend on nor attend education. We can then examine the sources of income for important spending items, particularly the essential food and fuel.

Table 44 : Food funding sources

Group	% HH spending	PC spending	% Migrant	% Agr sale funded	% asset sale funded	% Other wage funded	% Loan funded	% Other funded
1	98	431.0	63.7	13.7	6.5	0.0	0.0	16.1
2	100	427.4	65.0	6.5	6.5	1.7	0.0	20.3
3	96	451.3	89.5	4.9	1.4	0.0	0.5	3.7

Almost every household in all groups spends on food, and adolescent migrant households spend more, probably because their land endowment is less able to meet the families' needs than in other cases. However, their spending is funded in 90% of cases by migrant income, showing much less diversity of fund source than the other groups. Migrant incomes are considerably more important for these households' food spending than both other households' migrant incomes and adolescent migrants' households' spending on other (less essential) items.

Table 45 : Fuel spending sources

Group	% HH spending	PC spending	% Migrant funded	% Agr sale funded	% asset sale funded	% Other wage funded	% Loan funded	% Other funded
1	100	85.9	60.7	20.5	4.1	0.0	0.0	11.5
2	100	93.0	56.0	19.5	2.6	1.7	0.0	17.2
3	100	62.3	78.7	11.3	3.6	0.0	0.0	3.0

This sample excludes 2 households in group 1 and 2 who spent over Rs 20,000 on installing fuel items last year and whose inclusion skews the per capita spending significant but does not change the percentage funding sources. Every household spent on fuel, although adolescent migrant households spent rather less per capita. Again migrant funding is by far the most important source for adolescent migrant households.

Other spending items show the same funding pattern as food and fuel, although migrant funding constitutes a smaller (but still the largest) proportion of the funding. These tables show that migrant income (both adult and adolescent) is essential for meeting basic requirements. However, since adolescent migrants' remittances account for roughly half migrant remittances for adolescent migrant households, we can conclude that adolescent migrants' income is very much essential for many households in this group. Since migrant incomes constitute a larger proportion of food funding (89.5%) than they do of, for example, education (70.8%), or PTI (82.3%), or travel (63%), or any other item it seems sensible to say that adolescent migration is essential to meet basic food spending requirements.

2. Education-related impacts of migration

Many adolescents must leave school in order migrate for work, and having migrated,

they usually do not return to school. The low return rate is evinced by the 94% of the adolescents in our sample are not currently attending school, and the 3% who currently attend formal school. Moreover, those migrants who do make the (usually short-lived) attempt to return to school often serve to attract school-going adolescents to migrant work. Ultimately, migration as an adolescent contributes to a cycle of poverty, as adolescents fail to become literate, develop their calculative ability, or prepare for any other kind of occupation during their formative years, thus staying confined to the same kind of low-wage, unskilled work throughout their lives. They are likewise ill-equipped to provide their own children with any but the same opportunities. The overall effect of migration on adolescents' education is thus quite adverse, and is not compensated by the acquisition of skills and knowledge at the destination worksite.

Back to the books

Of the 73 adolescent migrants in our sample who had at one time attended school and responded to the question of whether they would want to return, 29 wished to return to school and 34 did not. Adolescents' responses to whether they preferred studying or working revealed, likewise, a mixed bag:

Table 46 : Adolescents' education preference

Prefer working or studying?	Adolescents
Studying	33
Working	38
Both	37
Neither	3

Roughly equal proportions of adolescents liked studying, working, and both equally. The number of adolescents who "prefer" studying, and wish to return, however, are not reflected in the number of adolescent migrants who actually return to formal school - only 3% of our sample of migrants were currently attending formal school.

It is of course difficult for adolescents to return to school after migrating when they lose interest in school as a result of their time away. As adolescents in Ghorimari explained, *"Once we go out for work, we go astray, and think that last time we had earned so much, so we should go again. We get interested in earning money, and hence, we are not interested in studying."*¹³⁷ Even if adolescents' desire to study does not diminish with migration, however, a number of factors - usually symptomatic of the distress conditions that compelled them to migrate in the first place - may intervene between their intention to study and their ability to actually carry it out. The implications of these distress conditions are thoroughly probed elsewhere in this paper, and thus we will here focus on how falling behind in school presents a barrier to adolescents' attempts

to return to school. Adolescent boys in a focus group remarked, *"Many times, we don't like our work, then we feel like studying again. But most of us either fail or get supplementary. We don't understand our studies. Your mind blows up - 'magaz garam ho jata hai'"*.¹³⁸ This group of adolescents did in fact "feel like" studying, but returning to studies proved difficult and resulted in failure for some. An added dimension to the difficulty of returning to school is gender. Girls in the Shyampura focus group explained, *"We old girls feel shy about going to school. Everyone laughs that someone this old is going to school"*.¹³⁹ Girls have a particularly small window of time before marriage considered to be appropriate for school-going, the whole of which can quickly and easily get bartered away in migrant labour. For them, a return to school is highly unlikely once they have begun migrating.

The demonstration effect

Adolescent migrants encourage other adolescents to migrate in two, often connected, ways. First, when adolescents leave school in order to migrate, they cultivate their friends' and peers' desire to leave school and migrate along with them. This may be a matter of wanting to do what one's friends do, to keep with the norm, or alternatively just to be with one's friends. The desire to go along with the group and migrate may be further cultivated by the stories and experiences returning migrants bring back to school and to the village community in general. An Amlī school teacher voiced his frustrations to this end:

*Other children [those who are not going to school] also tell the children who are studying to come along with them, saying, 'we'll have fun there together'. Thus, these children are also lured in to this talk. There is complete independence there. There is no one to say anything. Whatever little he has learned, he forgets it on going to Gujarat. He is not interested in school.*¹⁴⁰

Returning adolescent migrants contribute to other adolescents' expectations that migration will be fun, and either actively or passively recruit other adolescents to migrate. The norm thus generated has adverse effects on adolescents' interest, performance, and attendance in school.

Forsaking the formative years

Adolescent migrants - especially those on the younger end of the

137 Focus group discussion with adolescent males.

138 Ghorimari.

139 Adolescent girls focus group, Shyampura.

140 Community member focus group discussion.



age bracket - are spending the formative years of their lives engaged in low-paid wage labour that accrues them few new skills or knowledge. Community members such as this one in Nayakhola were of the opinion that, "In 2-3 months the children don't learn anything good, just bad habits".¹⁴⁰ During the only time of their lives when they have access to formal schooling, they are missing out on that opportunity to gain basic literacy and calculative ability, in favour of work that merely enables their households to subsist another year. Forfeiting school and literacy limits adolescents' options in future years, trapping them and possibly even their offspring in low-wage, unskilled labour that furthers the cycle of poverty.



10 Focus group discussion.

10. Recommendations

Economic and social reasons for migration do not preclude one another; it would be oversimplifying the interlocking processes at work in adolescent migration to try to separate out those who migrate due to conditions of economic distress from those who migrate for enjoyment or other social reasons. Adolescents may migrate for a number of reasons. The economic and the social - the exigencies of distress and the promise of enjoyment - may combine, though perhaps with different proportions of influence, to compel any given adolescent to migrate. Any effective intervention that aims to affect the rate of migration must, then, address both of these aspects of adolescent migration and their interlinkages. On the other hand, it should also recognise that there are a variety of different migration experiences and impacts. Interventions should, therefore, not aim in a non-specific way to reduce adolescent migration, but rather should seek to minimise its worse effects (and this includes reducing the rate of migration for some adolescents), and help adolescents and their households maximise the benefits from migration.

More specifically, the intervention strategy we propose is one that distinguishes between adult migration as an essential part of livelihood strategy, and adolescent migration as important in many households' budgets but damaging for adolescents in a variety of ways. The strategy will stem from the perspective that adolescent migration is symptomatic of larger and more enduring phenomena: already large and growing family size, ecological change, poor local livelihoods, and adolescent desire for exploration and change. Finally, the intervention strategy will proceed from the view that it is impossible to completely prevent adolescent migration, and that pressure to migrate is likely to only increase in the coming years.

Intervention Strategies

We propose the following key strategies for intervention:

- 1) Increase returns from migrant labour to older adolescent migrants and adults.
- 2) Try to delay the entry of young potential migrants into the labour market.
- 3) Short term: directly address problems facing existing migrants, equipping them to better deal with their present situation both in their villages and at destinations.
- 4) Long term: continue to strengthen village livelihoods, targeting adolescent migrant families where possible.

1) Increasing returns to older adolescent migrants and adults

Many of the issues detailed above apply equally to adult migrants in the unorganised sector. As we have shown, the rates of adult migration are extremely high for both adolescent and non-adolescent migrant households, it is an essential part of most households' livelihood strategies, and the income from migration constitutes the majority of cash income for many households. Yet despite this large numbers of adolescents also migrate. In many cases, the primary reason behind their migration is economic distress. Since there are often significantly greater risks and deprivations associated with adolescent migration, it is desirable to reduce this economic distress motive by increasing the returns to the migration of older individuals. This strategy will not address the non-economic motives to migrate and is alone, therefore, almost certain not to eliminate adolescent migration. However, it would go some way to ensuring that adolescent migration is the result of choice and not compulsion. Moreover, it would have direct benefits for older migrants, some of whom will be adolescents above the age of 16.

Migrants are often unable to bargain for higher wages or better working conditions because they have no access to information about alternative employment, about their legal rights, or about the possibility of unionising. Work and studies conducted by various NGOs have emphasised the importance of the registration of migrants, employers, and contractors in order primarily to build up a verifiable database of the sector that can be made available to migrants, to facilitate the organisation of migrants into groups capable of bargaining, to offer legal support to migrants faced with exploitation, and to help migrants access public services. This strategy has been pursued by, amongst others, Grameen Vikas Trust (GVT) and the Aajeevika Bureau, through Migrant Resource Centres (MRCs). The registration process involves recording the names, addresses and work details of employers, the employment details, destinations, and skills of migrants, and the names and operations of contractors. The database is then linked to legal institutions - local police, state authorities, the labour commission - to enforce migrants' rights and contracts. This is intended eventually to enhance the decision-making powers of migrant workers by providing them with information about the job market, but also to enhance their earning powers by connecting them with the legal framework and by enabling their unionisation that will empower them to resist the *seths'* collusion in setting low wages. Moreover, in the shorter term, registration of migrant destinations will allow NGOs to identify destination areas in which to provide services and permit migrants to communicate with their families, and the provision of a photo-identity card enables migrants to retain a sense of identity and self-confidence that is often threatened by migration (Mosse 2002).

It is, however, a long term strategy because many of the benefits of registration will start to come only after a reasonable number are registered and when confidence in the process has been developed. The process of registration is complicated in Udaipur District

because so many migrants migrate through a contractor. Unionisation, therefore, cannot be as simple as organising migrants and potential migrants because in many cases employers are not wholly dependent on single contractors and contractors have access to more than one village. It is therefore very important to involve contractors throughout the process. Many of them used to be migrant labourers, have an acute understanding of the trials of migration, and according to Aajeevika Bureau and some of our impressions, are willing to co-operate. Registration without contractors risks putting the employment of unionised migrants in jeopardy and making the registration process a backward step.

Moreover, since an important part of the registration process involves the legal framework, and because part of the overall objective is to delay the entry of workers to the labour market, full registration should not be made available to child migrants (under the age of 14). It is not the aim of this intervention to promote child migration, although partial registration (of the destination address) without the legal backing would help to assuage some parental worries and should be considered. Indeed, the possibility of later full registration could be used as an incentive to attend school or to participate in local income generation schemes.

The MRCs function as a co-ordinating agency for the migration database but also a centre for co-ordinating training for migrants and for disseminating information to migrants. They would operate at a block level. Aajeevika Bureau is already helping to operate centres in Kotra and Gogunda. The activities of these centres include:

- Collecting a database of migrants and destinations.
- Raising awareness about, and enabling migrants to gain access to public services.
- Providing a phone service that would enable communication between migrants and their families, both in the local area and, to co-ordinate with families further away. This could prove particularly important for adolescents, and in emergencies.
- Addressing economic exploitation of migrants by raising threat of legal action. In order to do this it would then also need to be linked with local labour officers and police, as well as linking to competent people to assist in filing court cases if necessary.
- Identify possibilities for skill up-gradation in certain sectors, organise (possibly subsidised) trainings, and connect trainees with remunerative employment. A relevant focus in this area is construction.
- Organise legal rights awareness campaigns and trainings.

Our recommendation is to connect migrants and potential migrants with these centres and to establish more centres (in collaboration with Aajeevika or another dedicated organisation if possible) to cover other areas. Raising awareness about registration and its benefits in the villages can take place through periodic awareness campaigns, timed

to coincide with migrants' return to villages (particularly around festivals), and peer information. Aajeevika has experienced success in Gogunda with volunteer non-migrants facilitating registration and making the registration service available in the village, as well as publicising the benefits of registering. In addition, it may be possible to devote a section of an existing or planned Seva Mandir structure (for example the proposed Youth Resource Centre or an NFE) to providing information about and facilities for registration without disrupting the functioning of that structure. Staff from the MRC (or perhaps the zonal or block workers) can then collect the data from the villages. A small charge can be levied to cover administrative costs.

Gathering information on contractors will require slightly greater pro-activity, although they can usually be identified by migrants and community members. There are various different approaches to contractors, but it seems most appropriate for most sectors here not to try to bypass contractors by connecting migrants directly with employment but to work with contractors to raise standards and awareness. It will be important to make clear to them that their livelihoods are not threatened by this process and to portray the information we are collecting not as regulatory but as supportive of their work inasmuch as the system will help them connect migrants with employers. Information about employers is difficult to collect and it may be best to enlist the help of contractors in this process since migrants are often not aware of the location of their prospective employment and employers are dispersed over a wide area.

Registration is a long term strategy that is not successful without significant investment and commitment. Despite these challenges, most organisations working on migration focus on registration as the key mechanism for improving returns, organising the unorganised sector, and delivering rights and services and on skill-upgradation to raise wages in particular sectors. Seva Mandir has the option of piloting the scheme in Kotra

or Gogunda where the MRC is already running. It should be recognised, however, that most households rely heavily on migration for their livelihood, and that given continued population growth and drought, this reliance is likely to intensify. Strengthening the abilities of migrants to gain from migration will be of crucial importance to their livelihoods. Moreover, since adolescent migrant households have the highest rates of adult migration, and since adult



migration is for these households such a significant portion of their income, raising migrant incomes will reduce the dependence of many households on earnings from adolescent migration. This should reintroduce the element of choice into adolescent migration.

2) Delaying the entry of adolescents into the labour market

Adolescents who enter the labour market at a young age struggle to pursue education and seem likely to destine themselves to a life of labour without the possibility of change. Moreover, they often engage in dangerous and hard work and expose themselves to other risks that suggest that it is desirable, at least, to raise the age of entry into the labour market. One mechanism for doing this is to directly connect the employment of young migrants with the legal framework through the same sort of registration and legal process described above. However, this strategy is risky because it puts households' livelihoods at risk and has proved difficult to sustain in other areas. Providing better returns to adult migrants should lessen the demand on adolescents to engage in wage labour and may help to reduce the need for households to send young children to migrate. Providing adolescents better reasons to be in the village would play a further important role in delaying their entry into the labour market. We have discussed at length the problems of education in villages, and improving its quality, its availability (particularly to girls), and its relevance is of paramount importance. Also important, however, is the creation of an alternative space in which adolescents can pursue friendships and enjoy themselves that will compete with the allure of the migrant worksite. Finally, the provision of an in-village alternative for earning income would address the desires of many adolescents for opportunities to earn without having to migrate.

Youth Resource Centres (YRCs) could provide a reason to be in the village. The YRCs would be a space for adolescents to interact and enjoy time together in the village, to learn, explore, and think about issues they deem of central relevance to their lives. If it is fun that motivates their migration, maybe they could find it here, within the village. The YRC could also help bring adolescents together for self-designed, cooperative and voluntary projects to address social and economic development issues of concern to them in the village. Such voluntary action towards addressing common



problems would be rewarding and confidence-building for adolescents, while also building adolescent capacity to participate in village institutions and development. The voice and sense of ownership over village development processes generated through such activities would provide further motivation for adolescents to remain in the village.

It is unlikely that the YRC will initially provide an equally attractive option to the opportunities for spending, earning, having fun, making friendships, and pursuing relationships available at migrant worksites. However, since a powerful motive to migrate that is bound up with many of these opportunities is being with one's peers, it is likely that a successful YRC could start to have a demonstration effect and encourage more adolescents to stay in the village rather than to migrate for fun. The design and publication of the centre and the skill of the facilitator will be crucial to its ability to compete with the migrant destination in terms of excitement and allure. Yet the possibilities for enjoyable activities and a sense of ownership and purpose that a successful YRC could facilitate all represent important reasons why adolescents might prefer to stay in villages.

Changes in the educational system could help retain adolescents in the village for longer. Although this is a very broad and long-term endeavour, the overall quality and relevance of schooling needs to be improved in order to fulfil adolescents' search for understanding their world and their place in it, to nurture their inherent and diverse capacities to serve their communities, and to provide them the practical skills and means to earn a livelihood. Good schooling is relevant to the lives of boys and girls, be it in terms of confidence, the ability to calculate one's wages, or to reflect critically on one's situation. This should be made more apparent to families and pupils. Yet adolescents and their families often noted the material demands that schooling makes upon them, in terms of pens, books, and uniforms, as barriers to attending education. Moreover, the schooling system often fails to recognise that pupils are not always able to devote time to studying at home because of the demands of house and field work. In formal education, these problems are not currently addressed, but to provide adolescents with a good reason to be in the village and to stem the dropping out of education, they must be. Furthermore, whilst Seva Mandir caters specifically to pre-school children and adults, the education of youth often appears to be neglected. Maintaining an interest in and the habit of studying throughout early life to ensure that children leave school well-educated, critical and confident with good employment options is crucial when children start to migrate from the age of 10.

Adolescents for whom migrating for wage labour is their only option if their household is to meet its basic needs, or for whom the opportunity cost of attending school is too high, earnings opportunities in the village would be important in order to delay their migration. Small-scale Income Generating Activities (IGAs) or Self Help Groups (SHGs) for adolescents could be started in more villages, and perhaps linked to education, especially

for girls who have less access to education because families deem it a poor investment. This linkage would make participating in the IGA contingent on attending informal or formal schooling. This would both provide a double reason to stay in the village for younger children and also raise the connection in adolescents' minds between education and earning. Any such IGA activity will, of course, require careful implementation and a detailed analysis of local markets, in terms of both demand and supply. It should be noted that this is in a sense a deviation from the objective of delaying entry into the labour market because it provides an avenue into an earning scenario. However, if this permits young adolescents to remain within the villages and attend education it is a far better entry to the labour market than migration at a young age.

To complement all of the above, the intervention should raise awareness about adolescent migration in the village, emphasising the importance of education and dangers of migrating for young adolescents. This could be achieved through the YRC but also emphasis placed on adolescent migration by paraworkers and village leaders.

3) Addressing existing problems

Even if the above interventions are eventually successful in reducing adolescent migration or delaying adolescent entry into the labour market, many adolescents will continue migrating in the short term, facing the same kind of hardships and risks as have been identified in the preceding sections of this report. Adolescents must, then, be aware of and empowered to address the challenges they will face at the worksite. The following are some interventions that could help:

- Training for adolescent migrants covering the following, much of which could be undertaken within the YRC and at the village level:
- Basic literacy and arithmetic. This is a core function of the YRC, which as questionnaire data indicated and as villagers such as these in Nayakhola cited as connected to lessening economic exploitation at the worksite: "There was more cheating earlier, because the uneducated *adivasis* had no kind of information at all. But now because of education, there aren't as many mistakes in the calculations. Now we can go straight over and negotiate the money. Even the *meths* have started to get scared".¹⁴²
- Health and sexual health, HIV/AIDS and STIs, sexual harassment and abuse
- Life skills training covering such topics as: decision making, problem-solving, critical thinking, coping with change, relationships, gender sensitization, fostering a sense of inherent worth and dignity, cooperation and consultation, and negotiation. A life skills training program would foster adolescents' most fundamental capabilities to

¹⁴² Focus group discussion with community members, January 7, 2005

address their own challenges and collectively implement creative solutions both at home and at the worksite.

- Worksite safety - pesticides, machinery, using safety equipment etc.
- Money management
- Legal rights and information
- Information about availing of government income-generation schemes or getting involved in cottage industries

Preparation for migration through training and awareness is extremely important and has been successful elsewhere in enabling migrants to deal with the problems and hardships that they will face. The sessions should be carefully timed to coincide with migrants' presence in the village, and if possible provided regularly to capture migrants who migrate for longer or to different areas. The YRC would be the point for disseminating information on and possibly hosting some of the trainings, and the curriculum should be developed in close collaboration with adolescents and according to their needs.

The plan to prepare migrants and to link them with services should be supported with interventions at the destination to make available services, materials, education, and support to help them deal with the hardships of migration. This will require extensive networking with NGOs operating outside Seva Mandir's working area, and Aajevika and DISHA Ahmedabad should provide good contacts. The registration system will be invaluable in informing the location of these services. On-site interventions addressing migrants' existing problems could include linking with NGOs at destinations to provide:

- Educational opportunities
- Health/sexual health clinics
- Legal/union support
- Worksite quality/safety/working hours monitoring
- Special provision for monsoons: clothing, shelter, food etc.

These services could be offered to registered migrants to reduce their vulnerability away from home. They are particularly important for adolescent migrants whose sexual habits are very risky, who tend to have been excluded from education, who are often exploited economically, and for whom health risks and strenuous work presents greater long-term health risks.

4) Strengthening Village Livelihoods

Strengthening village livelihoods implies adjusting the targeting strategy of existing Seva Mandir activities, and indeed any kind of development activity that aspires to involve

the entire village population. Migrants and migrant households may have difficulties participating in village institutions and Seva Mandir programs, because migrant members are rarely in villages. Thus NGO programmes will need to find ways to specifically address migrants' concerns. Some central concerns raised by migrants during the course of the study indicated the following lines of action:

- Continue to address drought, with special focus on the poorest. Seva Mandir's NRM and JFM work is also relevant to the longer-term improvement of village livelihoods, which will also benefit migrants.
- Target specific problems, such as emergency and social expenses money-lending
- Continue to experiment with government schemes like *Khadi*, NTFP processing (for example, using *mahua* flower as natural colour for *Holi*), palm leaves, *dari*-making, etc.
- Increase membership and involvement of adolescent migrants' households in all existing activities.

Covering adolescent migrant (which are also adult migrant) households in Seva Mandir's interventions is inherently difficult because Seva Mandir places emphasis on participation and village initiative, and migrants are largely unable to engage in these because they are not in the village. This needs to be recognised, particularly since adolescent migrant households are in general the poorest group by almost every indicator and they are less likely to participate in village institutions or other activities. It is imperative that these households are not omitted from development programmes. Yet involving them will require a reorientation of approach that recognises the particular problems of absence and marginalisation that they face. One mechanism for this could be registration, which provided it is successful with good coverage will provide a clear database of households likely to be most in need of assistance.

11. Conclusion

The prevalence of adolescent migration from Seva Mandir's work area and the unique challenges migrants face necessitates that Seva Mandir and other development actors undertake interventions that take adolescent and adult migration into account as an essential livelihood source for the majority of families. The intervention strategies outlined above are diverse and wide-ranging, commensurate with the nature of adolescent migration and its spread both spatially and across areas of development intervention. This report has attempted throughout to emphasise the diversity, complexity, and scale of adolescent migration. Not all adolescent migration is from distress, and not all the impacts of adolescent migration are undesirable. Nevertheless, we will end by emphasising the likelihood that distress adolescent migration will remain and, if anything, increase. The problems of small landholdings and large families that as we have seen are particularly strong in adolescent migrant households, will not recede, and the livelihoods of these households will be increasingly threatened, and, without action, reliant on migrant labour, of both adults and adolescents. If we are to address the problems faced by many adolescent migrants, we must address, immediately, the problems surrounding the livelihoods of their households, and we must take steps now to prevent those problems faced by adolescent migrants - of education, health, exploitation, and vulnerability - from having a lasting impact on their young lives.



References

- Antonyraj, C. (2004) *Child Labour in India: 'Visible School-less-ness' and 'Invisible Work'*, Review of Development and Change, Vol. IX, No.1 January-June 2004, pp.93-106
- Basumatary, Netaji. (1999) *Socio-economic Impact of Lift-irrigation: Case Study of Shyampura Village*. Udaipur: Seva Mandir.
- Breman, J. (1996) *Footloose Labour: Working in the Indian Informal Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Breman, J. (2003), *The Labouring Poor in India*. OUP.
- de Haan, A. Brock, K. and Coulibaly, N. (2002) 'Migration, Livelihoods and Institutions: Contrasting Patterns of Migration in Mali', Journal of Development Studies special issue.
- Deshingkar, P (2004a), *Understanding the Implications of Migration for Pro-Poor Agricultural Growth*. Paper prepared for DAC POVNET Agricultural Task Group Meeting, June 2004.
- Deshingkar, P. (2004b), *Livelihood Diversification in Developing Countries*. Paper prepared for POVNET Agriculture Task Team Consultation, September 2004.
- Deshingkar, P. and S.Grimm. 2004. *Voluntary Internal Migration: An Update*. Paper commissioned jointly by the Urban and Rural Change Team and the Migration Team within the Policy Division of the British government's Department for International Development.
- Deshingkar, P. and D. Start (2003) *Seasonal Migration For Livelihoods, Coping, Accumulation And Exclusion*, Working Paper No 220. Overseas Development Institute, London
- Goyal, Jaya, and Seth, Ritu. (2002) *The Components of Income and Expenditure of Households in a Tribal Village*. HLL.
- Kala, Prateek (2003) *Theme Paper: Role of Women in Forest Conservation in Village Nayakhola, Udaipur, Rajasthan*. Anand: Institute of Rural Management.
- Kala, Prateek, and Singh, Gaganpreet (2003) *Fieldwork Segment Village Report: Nayakhola*. Anand: Institute of Rural Management.

- S. Katiyar, R. Khandelwal, and M Kumar (2003), *The Aajevika Study on Livelihoods in Rajasthan*. Sudrak.
- Kundu, A. (2003) *Urbanisation and Urban Governance, Search for a perspective beyond neo-liberalism*. EPW XXXVIII No 29, July 19 2003 pp 3079-3087.
- Lakshmansamy, T. (1990) 'Family Survival Strategy and Migration: An Analysis of Returns to Migration', *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol.51, No.3, pp.473-85.
- Ling, A., (2005) *Socio-economic status of (rural) Udaipur District*, Seva Mandir.
- McDowell, C. and A. de Haan (1997), *Migration and Sustainable Livelihoods* (IDS Working Paper 65)
- Mosse, D. (2002), *Adivasi Seasonal Labour Migrants in West India*.
- Negi, Neeraj Kumar (2001) *Natives and Forest: The Story of Amri*. Udaipur: Seva Mandir.
- NRD Unit (2002) *Joint Forest Management Micro and Management Plan, Nayakhola, Jhadol(F)*. Udaipur: Seva Mandir.
- Olsen, W.K. (1996) 'Marxist and Neo-Classical Approaches to Unfree Labour in India', in Brass and van der Linden, eds. (1998) 379-404
- Rafique, A. and B. Rogaly (2003), *Internal Seasonal Migration, Livelihoods and Vulnerability in India: A Case Study*
- Rao, U. (1994) *Palamoor Labour: A Study of Migrant Labour in Mahabubnagar District*. Hyderabad: C.D. Deshmukh Impact Centre, Council for Social Development.
- Rao, G.B. (2001) *Household Coping/ Survival Strategies in Drought-prone Regions: A Case Study of Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh*, India SPWD-Hyderabad Centre.
- Reddy, D. N. (1990) 'Rural Migrant Labour in Andhra Pradesh', Report submitted to the National Commission on Rural Labour, Government of India.
- Singh, M. and A. K. Karan (2001) *Rural Labour Migration From Bihar*. Institute For Human Development, New Delhi.
- Sudrak (2005), *Labour without Laws? A review of Policies and Programmes for Unorganised Migrant Workers (draft)*. Aravali/Scale
- Stark, O. (1981), *The Migration of Labour*, Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, J.E. (1991) *The Migration of Labour*, Harvard University Press.

Todaro, M. (1976), *Internal Migration in Developing Countries*. ILO.

Vishwanath, Anuradha (2002). *Shyampura Lift Irrigation: A Case Study of Seva Mandir's Interventions in Udaipur District, Rajasthan*. Central India Initiative.

WHO SEAR (1997) *Report on Adolescence*, World Health Organisation.





Seva Mandir

Old Fatehpura, Udaipura - 313004

*Published by : Neelima Khetan * Production n Design : Kavita Shekhawat * Printed at : Choudhary Offset Pvt. Lt*